

CIVILISATION IN ANCIENT INDIA

R. C. DUTT

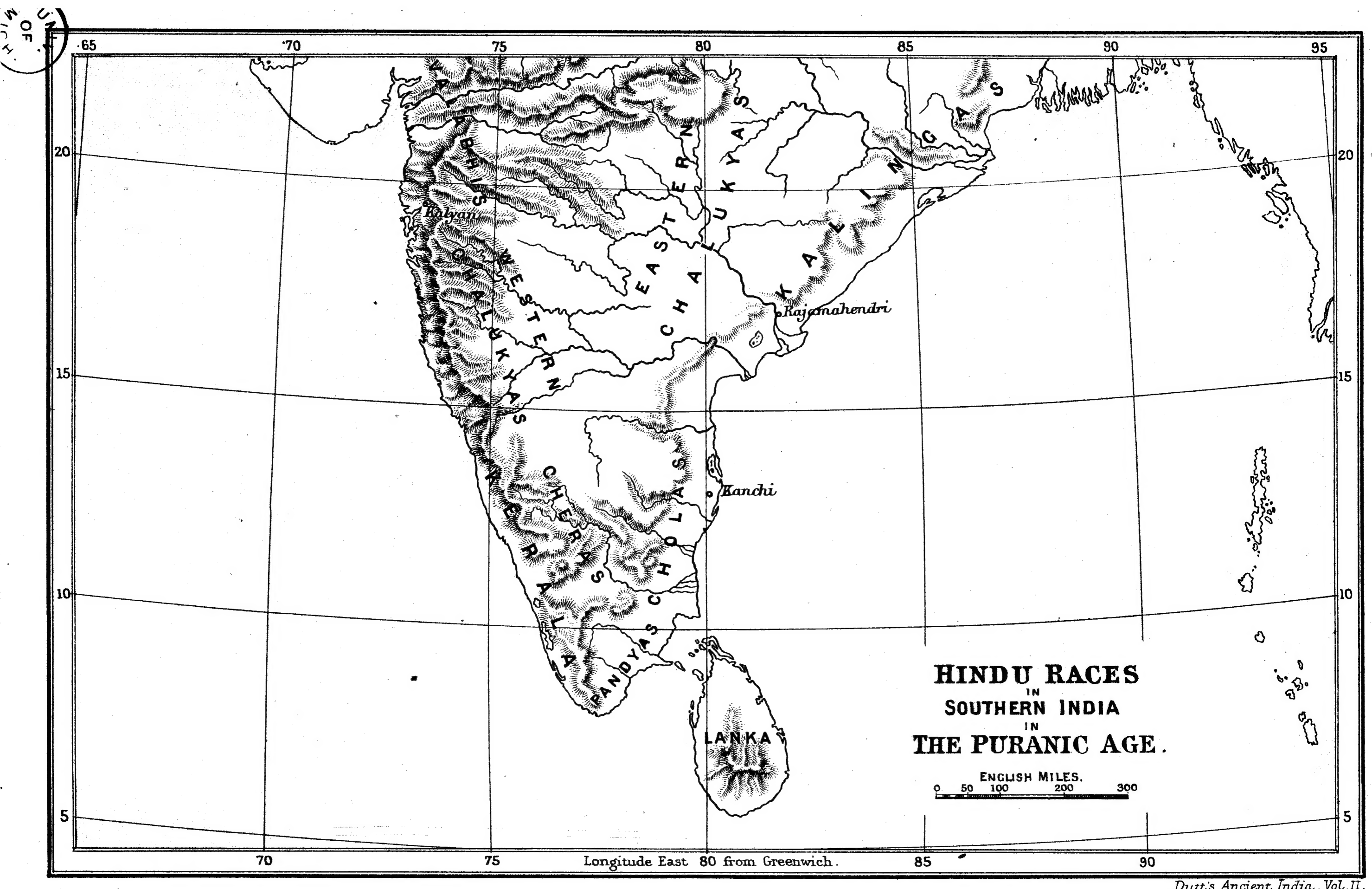
VOL. II.

PAUL, TRENCH, TRÜBNER & Co.



TRÜBNER'S

ORIENTAL SERIES.



London; Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. Limited.

Dutt's Ancient India, Vol. II.

With kind regards
from
23rd March 1904. M. R. Jayakar.

A HISTORY

OF

CIVILISATION IN ANCIENT INDIA

BASED ON SANSCRIT LITERATURE

BY

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REVISED EDITION, IN TWO VOLUMES



VOL. II.—B.C. 320 TO A.D. 1000

LONDON
KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRÜBNER, & CO. LTD
PATERNOSTER HOUSE, CHARING CROSS ROAD
1893



PREFACE.

IT is with mingled feelings of pleasure and unfeigned diffidence that I now place this completed work before the public. The great task of compiling for the first time a connected and clear history of the Ancient Hindus requires greater leisure and more extensive reading than I can lay claim to. Years of study, often interrupted, enabled me, however, to grasp the leading facts, and during the last three years I have worked continuously in moments spared from official duties to arrange these facts in their present shape. The first chapters on the Vedic Age were commenced in April 1887, the last chapters on the Puranic Age have been revised in March 1890. The work, such as it is, is now placed in the hands of my indulgent countrymen, for whom it has been written.

The reception which my countrymen have given to the first volume has surpassed my most sanguine expectations. The entire edition of a thousand copies has been nearly exhausted before the last volume is out, and a second edition has been called for, and will be shortly taken in hand. More gratifying to me were the requests which were made, and which have been gladly acceded to, for permission to translate the work into the

vernaculars of Bombay, Madras, and the North-Western Provinces. And equally encouraging to me were the numerous inquiries, congratulations, and expressions of sympathy which I have received from all parts of India, testifying to the interest which has been taken in this somewhat novel venture. I am too keenly aware of the imperfections of my rude attempt to ascribe the success of the work to its merits; and I can only suppose, therefore, that the demand for a readable handbook of this nature was so great among my countrymen, that they have consented to accept the article even from such a clumsy workman as myself.

I take this opportunity also to thankfully acknowledge the valued opinions, notices, and reviews with which many scholars in this country and in Europe have honoured this work. A popular work of this nature can scarcely be acceptable to scholars who have devoted their lifetime to all the minutiæ of Indian antiquities, and I feel therefore all the more grateful for the cordial and favourable acceptance which it has received at their hands. My sincere acknowledgments are due to Doctors Roth, Weber, and Max Müller, and several other scholars.

Of greater value to me than these favourable notices are the criticisms of some of these scholars on certain portions of my work, and it is due to my readers that I should indicate the main points on which my views have not always received assent. It is necessary to do this, if only to guard my readers from accepting my conclusions in all cases, and to induce them to form their own judgments on the facts.

Scholars belonging to the orthodox section of my

countrymen have not always accepted my account of Vedic civilisation. Life in the Vedic Age, they hold, was more "spiritual," more pious, and contemplative in its tone and character, and they are scarcely prepared to accept my account of the rude self-assertion and boisterous greed for conquests of the Vedic warriors. On the other hand, some European scholars think that I have represented Vedic civilisation in too favourable a light. M. Barth, who did me the honour of favourably noticing in Paris my chapters on the Vedic Period when they first appeared in the *Calcutta Review*, expressed his opinion that my account should be accepted with some degree of caution. And Dr. Kern, who has published a favourable review of the first volume of the present work in a Dutch journal, states that opinion is divided as to the character of the Vedic civilisation. Some scholars delight in describing all that was robust and manly and straightforward in the character of the Vedic Hindus, while others portray their coarseness and imperfections. Dr. Kern is of opinion that I have adhered to the first school of opinion, but that the truth lies midway.

I am not aware that I have tried to keep back the robust rudeness—coarseness if you like—of the civilisation of the Vedic Age. But I confess that, like most modern Hindus, subject to all the drawbacks of a later and more artificial civilisation, I feel a warm appreciation for the manly freedom of ancient Hindu civilisation and life. I have sought to portray this prominently in my account of the Vedic Period; and in my description of later ages I have not hesitated to point out emphatically and repeatedly how much we lack in all that was

healthy and free, unrestricted and life-giving in the ancient Hindu institutions and social rules. It is a truth which we Hindus need bear in mind.

Coming now to the Epic Age, scholars are generally agreed that the caste system of India first took its rise in this period. But here again we should ever remember that caste rules, with all their potential evils, served in this early period as a sort of moral code for the Aryan Hindus, and tended to unite them by classing them in three great sections, with sanction for inter-caste marriage and religious instruction for all. The caste system of the Epic Period was no more like the system of to-day than the Feudal institutions of the Middle Ages, which had their object and their use, were like the baronial oppression of the eighteenth century in France. As it was neither possible nor desirable under changed circumstances to restore the old institution of the Middle Ages, the living nations of Europe swept away its debased and oppressive substitute which flourished down to the last century.

The account of Buddhism has necessarily taken up a good deal of space in my narrative of the Rationalistic Period. My appreciation of Buddhism has been criticised, and many friendly critics have reminded me that Buddhist precepts, literally obeyed, would not hold the world together, but would lead nations to subjection, to inaction, and to beggary. This is not the place to enter into a controversy on the subject, but I may be permitted to point out that a religion cannot be criticised in this spirit, and that the teachings of the pure-souled Jesus have not been thus criticised. He too recommended a

relinquishment of the world and unresisting submission to wrongs and injuries, but neither he nor Gautama intended that men should cease to be men. Religion holds before us great models and perfect ideals of virtues like charity, love, and unselfishness; and these ideals, conveyed in precepts or commandments, legends or parables, have their effect on our moral nature and on our actions, in our eternal and selfish struggle in this world. Let us be candid then, and concede that Gautama's ideals were lofty and holy; that his message of the equality of men, proclaimed to the caste-stricken people of India, was large-hearted and benevolent; and that his religion, which imparts moral lessons to a third of the world's population, is beautiful and great.

On another, and a more delicate point, I expected my position would be assailed. My account of the historical connection between Buddhism and the rise of Christianity has been questioned. But enough, I hold, has been discovered to prove that connection, and we can afford calmly to await the result of future researches. I do not hesitate to maintain, though few Christian writers will agree with me, that the world owes to India that higher system of ethics and nobler code of morality which distinguish the modern religion from the religions of the ancient world.

In the present volume I have treated of the Buddhist and the Puranic Age. The edicts of Asoka have thrown a flood of light on his administration and his times; and numerous other inscriptions which have been read elucidate many facts relating to the regal dynasties of the different provinces of India. But for an account of

the people, their customs, laws, and manners, we must turn to the code of Manu and to the account of the Chinese traveller Fa Hian. When we have compared these two records, we know how the Hindus saw themselves, and how they were seen by others.

The Puranic Age opens with the sixth century A.D., when there was a renaissance in literature, science, and religion. This opinion, which is now held by most scholars, is not, however, acceded to by all. My kind critic Dr. Bühler has pointed out that the Kâvya literature flourished during the early centuries of the Christian Era; that Chandragupta II. and his father Samudragupta of the Gupta dynasty were celebrated patrons of poetry and learning in the fifth and fourth centuries A.D.; and that it cannot therefore be asserted that there was a renaissance in Sanscrit literature in the sixth century A.D.

I have in the present volume admitted all the facts kindly pointed out by my learned critic, but I demur to his conclusion. Kâvya literature no doubt had its commencement in the fourth and fifth centuries of the Christian Era, just as modern English poetry had its commencement with Chaucer and Gower. But nevertheless the sixth century A.D., which I take to be the era of Vikramâditya and Kâlidâsa, marked a real revival and renaissance of Sanscrit literature, as the age of Elizabeth and Shakespeare marked a real revival of English literature. It was the commencement of a new epoch, marked by an upheaval of the national mind.

In order properly to comprehend the history of the national mind in the Puranic Age, we must compare the Puranic literature with the account of the Hindus from

the discriminating and friendly pen of Houen Tsang. And the impression which is left on the mind of the civilisation of the age is pleasing. A great storm then swept through India in the dark ages, and when the Rajputs became masters of India at the close of the tenth century, the Modern Age begins. We have a picture of this age from the pen of Alberuni, and the impression which Alberuni's account leaves on the mind of the Hindu is a sad one. I have not sought to suppress this sad portion of our national story; rather have I tried to tell it fully and impressively, so that we may now learn to turn to a brighter page of our national existence. If the present work contributes in any degree towards this result, if it helps us to sink our social disunion, to cast asunder hurtful restrictions, and to turn towards that unpolluted stream of religion, morality, and knowledge which are our birthright, my labours, humble and unworthy as they are, have not been altogether in vain.

R. C. DUTT.

MYMENSING DISTRICT, BENGAL,
March 14, 1890.

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BOOK IV.

BUDDHIST PERIOD, B.C. 320 TO A.D. 500.

CHAPTER I.

CHANDRAGUPTA AND ASOKA THE GREAT.

THE death of Alexander the Great marks an epoch in the history of the ancient world. In India, too, a new epoch begins at this time. The great political fact of this new epoch is that the whole of Northern India was for the first time united into one great empire by the genius of Chandragupta. The great religious fact of this new epoch is that the religion of Gautama Buddha, which was making progress among the humble and the lowly, was embraced by Chandragupta's grandson, the renowned Asoka the Great, and was preached and proclaimed all over India, and beyond the limits of India.

Of Chandragupta himself we have said enough elsewhere. His rule extended over the whole of Northern India from Behar to the Punjab. He drove out the Greeks from the Punjab, conquered from them a tract of country beyond the Indus, and at last concluded peace with Seleucus, the successor of Alexander the Great in Western Asia. Seleucus ceded the provinces which had been already conquered by Chandragupta, and also gave his daughter in marriage with the great Hindu emperor.

We have also seen that Chandragupta had a standing army of 600,000 foot and 30,000 horse; that his civil officers carefully supervised the administration of towns as well as of villages; that trade, and commerce, and agriculture were protected; that irrigation was carefully attended to, and forests were preserved. A Greek ambassador, who lived in the court of Chandragupta, has recorded with admiration that as most part of the country was under irrigation, famine was unknown in the land; and that wars were waged and battles were fought within view of cultivated lands, and neither the cultivator nor his cultivation was molested by the contending parties. The picture of the power and greatness of the Hindu empire under Chandragupta, of the security to life and property which was afforded under his rule, and of the prosperous condition of irrigation and agriculture in that ancient age,—is one which every modern Hindu will cherish with legitimate pride.

Chandragupta was succeeded by his son Bindusâra about 290 B.C., and he was succeeded, in 260 B.C., by the renowned Asoka the Great.

No greater prince had ever reigned in India since the Aryans first colonised this country, and no succeeding monarch excelled his glory. But the claims of Asoka to greatness rest less on the extent of his empire and of his prowess, than on the liberal and catholic spirit which inspired his internal administration and his foreign policy, and the fervent love of truth, and the desire to spread the truth, which have made his name a household word from Siberia to Ceylon. No monarch of India, not even Vikramâditya, has such a world-wide reputation, and none has exerted such influence on the history of the world by his zeal for righteousness and virtue.

It is said that during the reign of his father, young Asoka was sent to be Viceroy of Ujjayinî. If we may rely on the writer of the *Asoka Avadâna*,* Asoka was

* Dr. Rajendra Lala Mitra's *Napalese Buddhist Literature*, p. 38.

born of a Brâhmanî queen, named Subhadrângî. The same authority tells us that Asoka was turbulent in his younger days, and had to be sent to the western frontier to quell a mutiny which had broken out in Takshasîlâ, which he did with eminent success. After the death of Bindusâra, Asoka ascended the throne, and the date of his coronation is generally believed to be about 260 B.C.

The works both of the Northern and the Southern Buddhists contain little that is authentic about Asoka's reign. The Ceylonese accounts have it that Asoka put to death ninety-nine of his brothers (only six according to Târânâtha) before ascending the throne; while the *Asoka Avadâna* states that the emperor killed his officers and their wives, and subjected crowds of innocent people to the most refined cruelties before his conversion to Buddhism. These stories are absolutely unfounded, and were invented to heighten the merit of the Buddhist religion by blackening the character of Asoka before his conversion to that creed.

Fortunately for us, the great emperor has left us his Edicts, not in the garbled stories of later poets and chroniclers, but in inscriptions cut on ROCKS, CAVES, and PILLARS, by his own order, in his own time, and in the language and the alphabet of the time. The historical information conveyed in these inscriptions has been recently pieced together with great learning and ingenuity by the illustrious French scholar Senart, and we will glean some facts from his learned work, *Les Inscription de Piyadasi*, in two volumes.

The Fourteen Edicts on Rocks appear to have been inscribed in the 13th and 14th years from Asoka's coronation, while the Eight Edicts on Pillars were inscribed in the 27th and 28th years. The last of the Pillar Edicts is the last expression of the great emperor's ideas and wishes that is available to us. The Edicts in Caves were intermediate in point of time between those on Rocks and those on Pillars.

The Dîpavansa and the Mahâvansa maintain that Asoka was converted to Buddhism in the fourth year after his anointment. But M. Senart proves from the inscriptions themselves that the conversion really took place in the ninth year after the anointment, and immediately after the emperor had conquered Kalinga. It was the spectacle of the war of Kalinga, and of the cruel and sanguinary acts which accompanied it, that created a lasting impression on the mind of the benevolent emperor, and made him disposed to embrace the gentle and merciful creed of Gautama. Two years after, *i.e.*, in the eleventh year after his coronation, Asoka was converted a second time, *i.e.*, he was led to spread and proclaim the faith more zealously than he had done before; and from the thirteenth year he began to cause his Edicts to be inscribed in all parts of his great empire.

We learn from the inscriptions that Asoka had brothers and sisters living at the time of the inscriptions; and the story that Asoka killed his brothers in order to ascend the throne must therefore be rejected as false. The emperor had more than one queen, and one inscription describes the liberality of his second queen (Dutiyâ Devî). Pâtaliputra was the capital of the empire, but Ujjayinî, Takshasîlâ, Tosalî, and Samâpâ, are spoken of as subject towns. The whole of Northern India owned the emperor's sway.

Fourteen nations (*Âparântas*) living beyond the limits of Northern India also owned his suzerainty. In this category are mentioned the Yavanas (of Bactria), the Kambojas (of Kabul), the Gândhâras (of Kandahar), the Râstikâs (Saurâshtras and Mahârâshtras), the Petenikas (of the Deccan, *Paithana* or *Pratishthâna*), the Andhras (of the Deccan), the Pulindas (of the Deccan), the Bhojas (of Malwa), and the Nâbhakas and Nâbhapantis. Thus Southern India as far as the Krishnâ river, and Kabul, Kandahar, and Bactria to the west, owned the suzerainty of the great emperor.

Other neighbouring nations are also spoken of as *Prâtyantas* who were independent. The Cholas, the Pândyas, and Kerâlaputa (all to the south of the Krishnâ river), and five Greek kingdoms belong to this class.

Of Asoka's system of administration the inscriptions give us but meagre information. We are told of Purushas or officers of the king, of Mahâmâtras or functionaries of all orders, of Dharma-mahâmâtras or officers specially employed to propagate religion and foster morality, and of Prâdesikas or local hereditary chiefs, the ancestors of the modern Raos and Raols and Thakurs, of whom India, with its Feudal system of administration, has always been rich. Besides these we hear of Anta-mahâmâtras or frontier officers, of Prâtivedakas or spies, and of Rajjukas specially appointed to inculcate religion to the Dharmayuta or the faithful.

The Anusamyâna was a religious assemblage to which all the faithful were invited, and in which the Rajjukas exercised their special mission of imparting instruction to the people. We know that such Buddhist gatherings were held every five years, but this rule was not universal. A quinquennial Anusamyâna was held in the provinces immediately under the emperor, but in Ujjayinî and Takshasîlâ the celebration was held once in every three years.

In the inscription of Sahasarâm, we are told that after his conversion Asoka deprived Brâhmans of the almost divine honour in which they were held, no doubt by showing equal honour to Buddhist monks. This salutary measure has been exaggerated into legends of sanguinary persecutions of Brâhmans of which the pious emperor was entirely innocent. In the same inscription, as well as in that of Rupnâth, we are told that Asoka sent his missionaries (Vivuthas) to all parts of the then known world. In the inscriptions of Bhabra, Asoka makes a profession of faith in the Buddhist Trinity,—Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha.

We now turn to the inscriptions themselves, and we will begin with the Rock Edicts.

Five rocks in five different parts of India bear on them five texts of *the same series of edicts* which Asoka published. One of them is near *Kapur da giri*, about 25 miles to the north-west of Attok, on the Indus; another is near *Khalsi*, on the Jumna river just where it leaves the higher range of the Himâlaya mountains; the third is at *Girnar* in Gujrat, about 40 miles to the north of the famous Somnath; the fourth is at *Dhauli* in Orissa, about 20 miles to the south of Cuttack; and the fifth is at *Jaugada*, near the Chilka Lake, and about 18 miles to the north-west of the modern town of Ganjam.

These Fourteen Edicts possess such surpassing interest for every student of Indian history, that we consider it necessary to transcribe them in full. They were first translated by James Prinsep, and have since been revised by Wilson and Burnouf, Lassen, Kern, and Senart. M. Senart's revision is the latest, and the following rendering is based on his interpretation of the Edicts. It is scarcely necessary to premise that Asoka calls himself Piyadasi in the Edicts:—

EDICT I.

This Edict has been engraved by the order of King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods. One must not, here below, kill any living animal by immolating it, not for the purpose of feasts. The King Piyadasi sees much that is sinful in such feasts. Formerly such feasts were allowed; and in the *cuisine* of King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, and for the table of King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, hundreds of thousands of living beings were killed every day. At the time when this Edict is engraved three animals only are killed for the table, two pea-fowls and a gazelle, and the gazelle not regularly. Even these three animals will not be killed in future.

EDICT II.

Everywhere in the kingdom of the King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, and also of the nations who live in the frontiers, such as

the Cholas, the Pandyas, the realms of Satyaputra and Keralaputra, as far as Tambapanni, (and in the kingdom of) Antiochus, king of the Greeks, and of the kings who are his neighbours,—everywhere the King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, has provided medicines of two sorts, medicines for men and medicines for animals. Wherever plants useful either for men or for animals were wanting, they have been imported and planted. Wherever roots and fruits were wanting, they have been imported and planted. And along public roads, wells have been dug for the use of animals and men.

EDICT III.

Thus spake King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods. In the twelfth year after my anointment, I ordered as follows. Everywhere in my empire, the faithful, the Râjuka, and the governor of the district, shall meet in a gathering (Anusamyâna), once every five years, as a part of their duty, in order to proclaim religious instructions as follows: "It is good and proper to render dutiful service to one's father and mother, to friends, to acquaintances and relations; it is good and proper to bestow alms on Brâhmans and Srâmans, to respect the life of living beings, to avoid prodigality and violent language." The clergy shall then instruct the faithful in detail in the spirit and in the word.

EDICT IV.

In past times, during many hundred years, have prevailed the slaughter of living beings, violence towards creatures, want of regard for relations, and want of respect for Brâhmans and Srâmans. But this day the King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, and faithful to the practice of religion, has made a religious proclamation by beat of drum, and has made a display of equipages, elephants, torches, and celestial objects to his people.

Thanks to the instructions of the religion spread by the King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, there exist to-day a respect for living creatures, a tenderness towards them, a regard for relations and for Brâhmans and Srâmans, a dutiful obedience to father and mother, and obeisance to aged men, such as have not existed for centuries. In this respect as in others, the practice of religion prevails, and the King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, will continue to cause it to prevail. The sons, the grandsons, and the great-grandsons of King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, will cause this

practice of religion to prevail to the end of this world. Firm in religion and in virtue, they will inculcate religion. For the teaching of religion is the most meritorious of acts, and there is no practice of religion without virtue. The development, the prosperity of the religious interest, is desirable. With this object has this been engraved, in order that they may apply themselves to the highest good of this interest, and they may not allow it to decline. The King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, has caused this to be engraved twelve years after his anointment.

EDICT V.

Thus spake King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods. The practice of virtue is difficult, and those who practice virtue perform what is difficult. I have myself accomplished many virtuous acts. And so shall my sons and grandsons, and my latest posterity to the end of the Kalpa pursue the same conduct, and shall perform what is good. And he who shall neglect such conduct shall do what is evil. To do evil is easy. Thus in the past there were no ministers of religion (Dharmamahâmâtra). But I, thirteen years after my anointment, have created ministers of religion. They mix with all sects for the establishment and the progress of religion, and for the wellbeing of the faithful. They mix with the Yavanas, the Kambojas, the Gândhâras, the Saurâshtras, and the Petenikas, and with other frontier (Âparânta) nations. They mix with warriors and with Brâhmans, with the rich and the poor and the aged, for their wellbeing and happiness, and in order to remove all the obstacles in the path of the followers of the true religion. They bring comfort to him who is in fetters, to remove his obstacles, and to deliver him,—because he has a family to support, because he has been the victim of deceit, and because he is bent with age. At Pâtaliputra and in other towns they exert themselves in the houses of my brothers and sisters and other relations. Everywhere the ministers of religion mix with the followers of the true religion, with those who apply themselves to religion and are firm in religion, and with those who bestow alms. It is with this object that this Edict is engraved.

EDICT VI.

Thus spake King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods. There never was in past times a system of despatch of work and of hearing of reports at all moments. This is what I have done. At all moments, during meals, during repose, in the inner apartments, in

the secret chamber, in my retreat, in the garden,—everywhere, officers entrusted with information about the affairs of my people come to me, and I despatch the concerns relating to my people. I myself with my own mouth issue instructions which the ministers of religion impart to the people. Thus I have directed that wherever there is a division, a quarrel, in the assembly of the clergy, it should always be immediately reported to me. For there cannot be too much activity employed in the administration of justice. It is my duty to procure by my instructions the good of the public; and in incessant activity and the proper administration of justice lies the root of public good, and nothing is more efficacious than this. All my endeavours have but thus one object,—to pay this debt due to my people! I render them as happy as possible here below; may they obtain happiness hereafter in heaven! It is with this object that I have caused this Edict to be engraved; may it endure long! And may my sons and my grandsons and my great-grandsons follow my example for the public good. This great object requires the utmost endeavour.

EDICT VII.

The King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, ardently desires that all sects may live (unmolested) in all places. All of them equally propose the subjection of the senses and the purification of the soul; but man is fickle in his attachments. They thus practice but imperfectly what they profess; and those who do not bestow ample gifts may yet possess a control over their senses, purity of soul, and gratitude and fidelity in their affections; and this is commendable.

EDICT VIII.

In past times kings went out for pastimes. Hunting and other amusements of the kind were their pastimes here below. I, King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, obtained true intelligence ten years after my anointment. These, then, are my pastimes;—visits and gifts to Brâhmans and Srâmans, visits to aged men, the distribution of money, visits to the people of the empire, their religious instruction, and consultations on religious subjects. It is thus that the King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, enjoys the pleasure derived from his virtuous acts.

EDICT IX.

Thus spake King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods. Men perform various observances in illness, at the marriage of a son or a

daughter, at the birth of a child, and at the time of proceeding on a journey. On these and similar occasions men follow various practices. But these numerous and diverse practices observed by most people are valueless and vain. It is customary, however, to observe such practices, although they produce no fruit. But the practice of religion, on the contrary, is meritorious in the highest degree. Regard for slaves and servants, and respect for relations and teachers are meritorious; tenderness towards living beings, and alms to Brâhmans and Srâmans are meritorious. I call these and similar virtuous acts the practice of religion. A father or a son, a brother or a teacher should say,—this is what is meritorious, this is the practice which must be observed till the end is attained. It has been said that alms are meritorious, but there is no gift and no charity so meritorious as the gift of religion, the imparting of religion. Hence a friend, a relation, a companion should give such counsel,—in such and such circumstances this should be done, —this is meritorious. Convinced that such conduct leads to heaven, one should follow it with zeal as the way which leads to heaven.

EDICT X.

The King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, does not deem any kind of glory and renown to be perfect except this, viz., that in the present and in the future my people practice obedience to my religion and perform the duties of my religion! That is the glory and the renown which the King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, seeks. All the efforts of the King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, are for the fruits obtainable in the future life, and for escaping mortal life. For mortal life is evil. But it is difficult to attain this end both for the small and the great, except by a determined effort to detach themselves from all objects. It is assuredly a difficult task, specially for the great, to perform this.

EDICT XI.

Thus spake King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods. There is no gift comparable with the gift of religion, the intimacy of religion, the charity of religion, the relationship of religion. This should be observed,—regard towards slaves and servants, obedience to father and mother, charity towards friends, companions, relations, Srâmans, and Brâhmans, and respect for the life of living creatures. A father or a son or a brother, a friend, a companion, or even a

neighbour, should say,—this is meritorious, this should be done. In striving thus, he derives a gain in this world and in the life to come; infinite merit results from the gift of religion.

EDICT XII.

The King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, honours all sects, both ascetics and householders; he propitiates them by alms and by other gifts. But the beloved of the gods attaches less importance to such gifts and honours than to the endeavour to promote their essential moral virtues. It is true, the prevalence of essential virtues differs in different sects. But there is a common basis, and that is gentleness and moderation in language. Thus one should not exalt one's own sect and decry the others; one should not depreciate them without cause, but should render them on every occasion the honour which they deserve. Striving thus, one promotes the welfare of his own sect while serving the others. Striving otherwise, one does not serve his own sect, and does disservice to others. And whoever from attachment to his own sect, and with a view to promote it, exalts it and decries others, only deals rude blows to his own sect! Hence concord alone is meritorious, so that all bear and love to bear the beliefs of each other. It is the desire of the beloved of the gods that all sects should be instructed, and should profess pure doctrines. All people, whatever their faith may be, should say that the beloved of the gods attaches less importance to gifts and to external observances, than to the desire to promote essential moral doctrines and mutual respect for all sects. It is with this object that the ministers of religion, the officers in charge of females, the inspectors, and other bodies of officers, all work. The result of this is the promotion of my own faith, and its advancement in the light of religion.

EDICT XIII.

Vast is the kingdom of Kalinga conquered by King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods. Hundreds of thousands of creatures have been reduced to slavery, a hundred thousand have been killed. Since the conquest of Kalinga, the king, beloved of the gods, has turned towards religion, has been devoted to religion, has conceived a zeal for religion, and has applied himself to the diffusion of religion,—so great was the regret which the beloved of the gods felt at the conquest of Kalinga. In conquering the country which was not subject to me, I, beloved of the gods, have deeply felt and

sorrowed for the murders, the deaths, and the reducing of the native inhabitants to slavery. But this is what the beloved of the gods has felt and sorrowed for more keenly. Everywhere dwell Brâhmans or Srâmans, ascetics or householders; and among such men are witnessed respect to authorities, obedience to fathers and mothers, affection towards friends, companions, and relations, regard for servants, and fidelity in affections. Such men are exposed to violence and to death, and to separation from those who are dear to them. And even when by special protection they themselves escape personal harm, their friends, acquaintances, companions, and relations are ruined; and thus they too have to suffer. All violence of this kind is keenly felt and regretted by me, beloved of the gods. There is no country where bodies of men like the Brâhmans and Srâmans are not known, and there is no spot in any country where men do not profess the religion of some sect or other. It is because so many men have been drowned, ruined, killed, and reduced to slavery in Kalinga that the beloved of the gods feels this to-day a thousand times more keenly.

. . . .

The beloved of the gods ardently desires security for all creatures, respect for life, peace, and kindliness in behaviour. This is what the beloved of the gods considers as the conquests of religion. It is in these conquests of religion that the beloved of the gods takes pleasure, both in his empire and in all its frontiers, with an extent of many hundred Yojanas. Among his (neighbours), Antiochus, king of the Yavanas, and beyond Antiochus, four kings, Ptolemy, Antigonas, Magas, and Alexander; to the south, among the Cholas, Pandyas, as far as Tambapanni, and also the Henarâja Vismavasi; among the Greeks and the Kambojas, the Nâbhakas and the Nâbhapantis, the Bhojas, and the Petenikas, the Andhras, and the Pulindas;—everywhere they conform to the religious instructions of the beloved of the gods. There where the messengers of the beloved of the gods have been sent, there the people heard the duties of the religion preached on the part of the beloved of the gods, and conform and will conform to the religion and religious instructions. . . . Thus the conquest is extended on all sides. I have felt an intense joy,—such is the happiness which the conquests of religion procure! But to speak the truth, this joy is a secondary matter; the beloved of the gods attaches great value only to the fruits which are assured in a future life. It is with this object that this religious inscription has been engraved, in order that our sons and grandsons may not think that a new conquest is necessary; that they may not think that conquest by

the sword deserves the name of conquest; that they may see in it nothing but destruction and violence; that they may consider nothing as true conquest save the conquest of religion! Such conquests have value in this world and in the next; may they derive pleasure only from religion, for that has its value in this world and in the next.

EDICT XIV.

This Edict is engraved by King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods. It is partly brief, partly of ordinary extent, and partly amplified. All is not connected yet, for my empire is vast, and I have caused much to be engraved, and will yet cause more to be engraved. Some precepts have been repeated because I attach particular importance to their being followed by the people. There may be faults in the copy,—be it that a passage has been truncated, or that the sense has been misunderstood. All this has been engraved by the engraver.

Such are the famous Fourteen Edicts of Asoka, by which he (1) prohibited the slaughter of animals; (2) provided medical aid for men and animals; (3) enjoined a quinquennial religious celebration; (4) made an announcement of religious grace; (5) appointed ministers of religion and missionaries; (6) appointed moral instructors to take cognisance of the conduct of people in their social and domestic life; (7) proclaimed universal religious toleration; (8) recommended pious enjoyment in preference to the carnal amusements of previous times; (9) expatiated on the merit of imparting religious instruction and moral advice; (10) extolled true heroism and glory founded on spreading true religion; (11) upheld the imparting of religious instruction as the best of all kinds of charity; (12) proclaimed his wish to convert all unbelievers on the principles of universal toleration and moral persuasion; (13) mentioned the conquest of Kalinga and the names of five Greek kings, to whose kingdoms, as well as to kingdoms in India, missionaries had been sent; and lastly, (14) summed up the foregoing with some remarks on the engraving of the Edicts.

From a historical point of view the second Edict is important as containing the names of Hindu kingdoms and of Antiochus of Syria; the fifth Edict also contains similar allusions; and the thirteenth Edict alludes to the conquest of Kalinga, which first brought Bengal and Orissa into close political relations with Magadha and Northern India. The same Edict names five Greek kings, and the original text containing these names deserves to be quoted.

ANTIYOKA *nama Yona Raja, param cha tena Antiyokena chatura Rajani,* TURAMAYE *nama,* ANTIKINA *nama,* MAKA *nama,* ALIKASANDARE *nama.*

These five names are those of ANTIOCHUS of Syria, PTOLEMY of Egypt, ANTIGONAS of Macedon, MAGAS of Cyrene, and ALEXANDER of Epiros. They were contemporaries of Asoka, and the latter made treaties with them, and with their permission sent Buddhist missionaries to preach the religion in those countries. The same Edict mentions names of kingdoms in India, or close to India, where missionaries were similarly sent.

Besides the Fourteen Edicts spoken of above, and which were published as one body of laws or moral rules, separate Edicts were published by Asoka from time to time, and some of them have been discovered.

An Edict published at Dhauli and Jaugada (south-west of Cuttack) lays down humane rules for the administration of the town of Tosalî, recommends religious conduct to all subjects, and prescribes the quinquennial religious celebration alluded to above. The same Edict lays down that at Ujjayinî and at Takshasîlâ the celebration should be held once every three years.

A second Edict was published also at Dhauli and Jaugada, laying down rules for the administration of Tosalî and Samâpâ, and conveying instructions to frontier officers. Two Edicts, one at Sahasaram (south-east of Benares) and one at Rupnath (north-east of Jubbulpur), have been translated by Dr. Bühler, and contain pious

exhortations, and inform us that 256 missionaries (Vivutha) had been appointed and sent in all directions by the pious emperor. The inscription at Bairat (south-west of Delhi) is a communication to the clergy of Magadha, and contains Asoka's profession of faith in Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha,—the Buddhist Trinity. A pious Edict of the second queen of Asoka has been discovered at Allahabad, and three new inscriptions of Asoka have lately been discovered in Mysore.

We now turn to the inscriptions in Caves.

The Cave inscriptions known are those of the Barabar and Nâgârjuni caves, about sixteen miles north of Gayâ; the Khandagiri caves, south of Cuttack; and the Ramgarh caves, in the Central Provinces. The inscriptions in the Barabar caves declare that they were given by Asoka (Piyadasi) to religious mendicants; and those in the Nâgârjuni caves state that they were the gift of Asoka's successor Dasaratha. The Khandagiri and Udayagiri caves were mostly gifts of the kings of Kalinga (Orissa).

And, lastly, we turn to the inscriptions on Pillars. The famous pillars of Delhi and Allahabad attracted the attention and defied the skill of antiquarians from the time of Sir William Jones, until the inscriptions on them were first deciphered by Prinsep. Besides the two Delhi pillars and the Allahabad pillar, there are two inscribed pillars at Lauria, in Tirhoot, and one at Sanchi, in Bhopal.

The same six Edicts are published in nearly all the pillars, while two more Edicts are found in the Delhi pillar called the Lât of Feruz Shah. It will be remembered that these Eight Edicts were proclaimed in the 27th and 28th years after Asoka's anointment; they contain little information about the emperor's politics, and are replete with moral and religious instructions, and accounts of works of public good and public utility. Briefly, the pious emperor (1) directed his officers of religion to work with zeal and pious anxiety; (2) explained religion to be mercy, charity, truth, and purity;

(3) inculcated self-questioning and the avoidance of sins; (4) entrusted the religious instruction of the people to Rajjukas, and allowed prisoners condemned to death three days' grace; (5) prohibited the killing of various animals; (6) proclaimed his goodwill to his subjects and hoped for the conversion of all sects; (7) hoped that his Edicts and religious exhortations would lead men to the right path; and (8) lastly, recounted his works of public utility and his measures for the religious advancement of the people, and enjoined the conversion of the people by moral persuasion. The following translation of the Eight Edicts is based on the interpretation of Senart:—

EDICT I.

Thus spake King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods. 26 years after my anointment, I caused this Edict to be engraved. Happiness in this world and in the next is difficult to secure without an excessive zeal for religion, a rigorous supervision, a perfect obedience, a lively sense of responsibility, and a constant activity (on the part of my officers). But, thanks to my instruction, this anxiety and zeal for religion increase and will increase day by day. And my officers, superior, middling, and subaltern, conform themselves to it and direct the people in the right path, and keep them in cheerful spirits; and so too my frontier officers (Anta-mahâmâtra) work. For the rule is this: government by religion, law by religion, progress by religion, and security by religion.

EDICT II.

Thus spake King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods. Religion is excellent. But it will be asked,—what is this religion? Religion consists in doing the least possible evil and the greatest possible good,—in mercy, charity, truth, and purity of life. Thus have I bestowed gifts of all kinds, to men and to quadrupeds, to birds, and to animals that live in the waters. I have extended manifold favours for their good, even to supplying them with water for drink; and have performed many other meritorious acts. To this purpose have I caused this Edict to be engraved, so that men may conform to it and travel in the right path, and that it may endure for ages. He who will act in conformity thereto, will do what is good and meritorious.

EDICT III.

Thus spake King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods. One sees only his good acts, and says,—I have done such a good act. But one does not see his evil acts, and does not say,—I have committed this evil act; this act is a sin. Such examination is painful, it is true, but nevertheless it is necessary to question one's self and to say,—Such things are sinful, as mischief, cruelty, anger, and pride. It is necessary to examine one's self carefully, and to say,—I will not harbour envy, nor calumniate others. This will be beneficial to me here below; this will be in truth still more beneficial to me in the life to come.

EDICT IV.

Thus spake King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods. 26 years after my anointment, I caused this Edict to be engraved. I have appointed Râjukas over the people among hundreds of thousands of inhabitants. I have reserved to myself the power to prosecute and to punish the Râjukas in order that they may in perfect confidence and security perform their duties, and promote the good of the people of my empire. They take account alike of progress and of suffering, and with the faithful, they exhort the people of my empire to secure to them happiness here below, and salvation in the future. The Râjukas obey me; the Purushas also obey my wishes and my orders and spread my exhortations, so that the Râjukas may work to my satisfaction. Even as one confides his infant to a careful nurse and feels secure, and says,—A careful nurse has charge of my infant,—even so I have appointed the Râjukas for the good of my subjects. And in order that they may with confidence and security, and free from anxiety, discharge their duties, I have reserved to myself the power to prosecute and punish them. It is desirable to maintain equality both in prosecution and in penalties. From this date therefore this rule is ordained,—To prisoners, who have been judged and condemned to death, I allow a grace of three days. They shall be informed that they shall live for this period, neither more nor less. Thus warned of the limit of their existence, they will bestow alms for the benefit of their future existence, or will practice fasting. I desire that even when confined in a prison, they shall be assured of the future; and I ardently desire to see the advancement of religious acts, the control of the senses, and the distribution of alms.

EDICT V.

Thus spake King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods. 26 years after my anointment, I have prohibited the killing of any of the following kinds of living creatures, viz., the *suka*, the *sârika*, *aruna*, the *chakravâka*, the *hansa* (wild duck), the *nandimukha*, the *gairata*, the *gelâta* (bat), the *ambaka pillika*, the *dadi*, the *anasthika* fish, the *vedaveyaka*, the *puputa* of the Ganges, the *sankuja* fish, the *kaphatasayaka*, the *pamnasasa*, the *simala*, the *sandaka*, the *okapinda*, the *palasata*, the *svetakapota* (white pigeon), the *grâmakapota* (village pigeon), and all quadrupeds which are not of use and are not eaten. The she-goat, the sheep, and the sow should not be killed when heavy with young or giving milk, or until their young ones are six months old. One shall not make capons. Living creatures shall not be burnt. Jungles shall not be burnt either recklessly or to kill the creatures inhabiting them. Animals shall not be fed on other living animals. At the full moon of the three Châturmâsyas (four-monthly celebrations), at the conjunction of the full moon with the constellation Tishya, and with the constellation Punarvasu, on the 14th and the 15th day of the moon and the day following the full moon, and generally on each *Uposatha* day, one should not kill or sell fish. On these days neither animals kept in game-forests, nor fishes in tank, nor any other kind of living beings shall be killed. On the 8th, the 14th, and the 15th day of each lunar fortnight, and on the days following the full moon of the Tishya, the Punarvasu, and the three *Châturmâsyas*, one shall not mutilate the bull, the goat, the sheep, or the pig, or any other animals which are mutilated. Neither the horse nor the bull shall be branded on the full moon days of Tishya, Punarvasu, and the Châturmâsyas, and on the first days of the fortnights succeeding the full moon days of the Châturmâsyas. In the twenty-six years from my anointment, I have liberated twenty-six prisoners.

EDICT VI.

Thus spake King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods. 12 years after my anointment, I caused Edicts to be engraved (for the first time) for the good and the happiness of the people. I flatter myself that they will profit by it, and will make progress in religion in manifold ways ; and thus the Edicts will tend to the benefit and the happiness of the people. I adopted means calculated to promote the happiness of my subjects,—those who are far from me, as well as

those who are near me,—and also of my own relations. Hence I watch over all my bodies of officers. All sects receive from me gifts in manifold ways. But it is their own conversion which I consider the most important. I have caused this Edict to be engraved twenty-six years after my anointment.

EDICT VII.

Thus spake King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods. Kings who ruled in past times desired that men should make progress in religion. But men did not make any progress in religion according to their desire. Then thus spake King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods. I have reflected that kings who ruled in past times desired that men should make progress in religion, and men made no progress in religion according to their desire,—by what means can I lead them in the right path? By what means can I cause them to make progress in religion according to my desire? By what means can I cause them to advance in religion? Then thus spake King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods. I have formed the resolution of publishing religious exhortations and of promulgating religious instructions, so that men on hearing these will enter on the right path and will elevate themselves.

EDICT VIII.

I have promulgated religious exhortations and given manifold instructions on religion, in order that religion may make rapid progress. I have appointed numerous officers over the people, each employed in his duty towards the people, in order that they may spread instruction and promote goodness. Thus I have appointed Râjukas on many thousands of men, and they have received my order to instruct the faithful. Thus spake King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods. It is with this single idea that I have raised *pillars* with religious inscriptions, that I have appointed ministers of religion (Dharma-mahâmâtra), that I have spread afar religious exhortations. Thus spake King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods. Along the highways I have planted Nyagrodha trees, that they may give shade to men and to animals; I have planted out gardens with mangoes; I have caused wells to be dug every half *krosa*; and in numerous places I have erected resting houses for the repose of men and of animals. But the truest enjoyment for myself is this. Previous kings and myself have contributed to the

happiness of men by various beneficial acts ; but to make them follow the path of religion, it is with this object that I regulate my actions. Thus spake King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods. I have also appointed ministers of religion in order that they may exert in every way in works of charity, and that they may exert themselves among all sects, monks as well as worldly men. I have also had in view the interest of the clergy, of Brâhmans, of religious mendicants, of religious *Nirgranthas*, and of various sects among whom my officers work. The Mahâmâtras exert themselves, each in his corporation, and the ministers of religion work generally among all sects. Thus spake King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods. These and other officers are my instruments, and they work to distribute my alms and those of the queens. Throughout my palace they work in manifold ways, each in the apartments entrusted to him. I learn also that both here and in the provinces they distribute the alms of my children, and specially of the royal princes, to favour acts of religion and the practice of religion. In this way acts of religion are promoted in the world, as well the practice of religion, viz., mercy and charity, truth and purity, kindness and goodness. Thus spake King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods. The manifold acts of goodness which I accomplish serve as an example. Through them, men have advanced, and will advance, in obedience to relations and to teachers. in kindly consideration for the aged, and in regard towards Brâhmans and Srâmans, towards the poor and the miserable,—yea, towards servants and slaves. Thus spake King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods. The progress of religion among men is secured in two ways,—by positive rules,—and by religious sentiments which one can inspire in them. Of these two methods, that of positive rules is of poor value ; it is the inspiration in the heart which best prevails. Positive rules consist in what I order,—when, for instance, I prohibit the slaughter of certain animals or lay down other religious rules, as I have done to a large number. But it is solely by a change in the sentiments of the heart that religion makes a real advance in inspiring a respect for life and in the anxiety not to kill living beings. It is with this view that I have promulgated this inscription, in order that it may endure for my sons and my grandsons, and as long as the sun and the moon endure, and in order that they may follow my instructions. For by following this path one secures happiness here below, and in the other world. I have caused this Edict to be engraved twenty-seven years after my anointment. Thus spake King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods. Wherever this Edict exists, on pillars of stone, let it endure unto remote ages.

The Edict *has* endured unto remote ages; and within the two thousand years which have succeeded, mankind has discovered no nobler religion than to promote in this earth "mercy and charity, truth and purity, kindness and goodness."

CHAPTER II.

LANGUAGE AND ALPHABET.

THE inscriptions of Asoka are invaluable to us for a study of the language and alphabet of Northern India in the third century B.C. The Edicts are undoubtedly in the language which was spoken and understood by the people in Asoka's time; and the fact that the same Edicts are recorded in dialects slightly differing from each other, in the different parts of India, prove that the great emperor desired to publish his laws in the dialect which was spoken by the people in each separate portion of his extensive empire.

The inscriptions show that the spoken language of Northern India was essentially the same, from the Himâlaya to the Vindhya mountains, and from the Indus to the Ganges. There are slight variations, however, from which antiquarians have made out three varieties of the spoken tongue of the period. General Cunningham calls them the *Punjâbi*, or Western dialect, the *Ujjaini* or Middle dialect, and the *Mâgadhi* or Eastern dialect.

The Punjâbi dialect is closer to Sanscrit than the others. It retains the *r* in such words as Priyadarsi, Srâmana, &c.; it retains the three sibilants of the Sanscrit; and it shows a nearer approach to Sanscrit forms. The Ujjaini dialect has its *r* as well as *l;* while the Mâgadhi dialect is marked by the entire absence of *r*, for which *l* has been substituted, *Lâja* for *Râja*, *Dasalatha* for *Dasaratha*, &c.,

Considering, then, the slightly varying dialects as one

spoken language, antiquarians have held that that language is Pâli. Prinsep called the language to be "intermediate between Sanscrit and Pâli." Wilson made a careful and searching examination of four different versions of the Rock Edicts, and stated his opinion that "the language itself is a kind of Pâli, offering for the greater portion of the words forms analogous to those which are modelled by the rules of the Pâli grammar still in use. There are, however, many differences, some of which arise from a closer adherence to Sanscrit, others from possible local peculiarities, indicating a yet unsettled state of the language."

Lassen agrees with Wilson in maintaining that the language of Asoka's inscriptions is Pâli, and he further maintains that the Pâli is the eldest daughter of the Sanscrit,—the oldest spoken tongue in Northern India after Sanscrit had ceased to be a spoken tongue. Muir supports this view by a comparison of the language of the inscriptions with the language of the Buddhist Scriptures taken to Ceylon in the third century B.C., and proves that they are pretty much the same language,—Pâli. In an "essai sur le Pâli," written by Burnouf and Lassen, those learned authors maintain that Pâli stands "on the first step of the ladder of departure from Sanscrit, and is the first of the series of dialects which break up that rich and fertile language."

This, then, is a sufficiently clear and definite fact, which is invaluable to the historian of India. We know the spoken tongue of the Vedic Age, which has been preserved in the simplest and most beautiful hymns of the Rig Veda. We know the spoken tongue of the Epic Age, which has been preserved in the prose Brâhmanas and Âranyakas. After 1000 B.C. there was a growing divergence between the spoken and the written tongue. Learned Sûtras were composed in the old grammatical Sanscrit, while the people spoke, and Gautama preached in the sixth century B.C., in a somewhat simpler and more fluent language. What that language was, we

know from the Edicts of Asoka; for the spoken tongue could not have changed very much from 477 B.C., when Gautama died, to 260 B.C., when Asoka reigned. The spoken language then of the third or Rationalistic Period was an early form of Pâli, by whatever names (Mâgadhi, &c.) we may choose to call it. And varieties of this language continued to be the spoken tongue of Northern India during the fourth or Buddhist Period.

In the fifth or Puranic Period, the Pâli had been considerably altered and formed into the different Prâkrit dialects which we find in the dramas of this period. The grammatical forms of the Prâkrit depart more widely from the Sanscrit than those of the Pâli, and historically too, we know that the spoken language of Kâlidâsa's heroines was later than the spoken tongue of Asoka. When the Puranic Period closed, another change took place; and the Prâkrits were further modified into the Hindi, in Northern India, by 1000 A.D.

It will thus be seen that the spoken tongue of Northern India has undergone considerable changes within the last four thousand years. In the Vedic Period it was the Sanscrit of the Rig Veda; in the Epic Period it was the Sanscrit of the Brâhmanas; in the Rationalistic and Buddhist Periods it was Pâli; in the Puranic Period it was the Prâkrits; and since the rise of the Rajputs in the tenth century it has been the Hindi.

From the subject of the spoken language of India we turn to the subject of alphabet, on which much has been written, and many wild conjectures have been indulged in.

The Devanâgari character, in which Sanscrit is now written, is of comparatively recent origin. The oldest Indian character known is that in which Asoka's inscriptions were recorded in the third century before Christ. It is necessary to mention that these inscriptions are recorded in two distinct characters—one reading from right to left, like the modern Arabic and Persian, and the other reading from left to right, like the modern

Devanâgari and the European characters. The former is confined to the Kapur da Giri inscription and to the coins of the Greek and Scythian princes of Ariana; and it has been called the *Ariano-Pâli* or *North Asoka* character. The latter is the character of all other texts of Asoka's inscriptions, and has been called the *Indo-Pâli* or *South Asoka* character.

The Ariano-Pâli or North Asoka character is not one of Indian origin, and was never used in India except in the extreme western frontier. Mr. Thomas rightly concludes that it has no claim to an indigenous origin in India, based, as it manifestly is, upon an alphabet cognate with the Phœnician. It died out after the first century A.D.

On the other hand, the Indo-Pâli or South Asoka character was not only universally used in India, but can claim to be of indigenous Indian origin. As we have stated before, it reads from left to right, and it is the mother of the Devanagari and other modern Indian alphabets. Mr. Thomas has no hesitation in stating that it is an "independently devised and locally matured scheme of writing;" and he insists pointedly to the Indian origin of this alphabet, because it pleases many antiquarians to conjecture that the Hindus borrowed their alphabet from the Greeks or the Phœnicians.

General Cunningham maintains with Mr. Thomas the Indian origin of the Indo-Pâli character. His remarks on the subject of the origin of alphabets generally, and of the Indo-Pâli alphabet in particular, are so thoughtful that we make no hesitation in making some extracts.

"The first attempts of mankind at graphic representation must have been confined to pictures or direct imitations of actual objects. This was the case with the Mexican paintings, which depicted only such material objects as could be seen by the eye. An improvement on direct pictorial representation was made by the ancient Egyptians in the substitution of a part for the whole, as

of a human head for a man, a bird's head for a bird, &c. The system was still further extended by giving to certain pictures indirect values or powers symbolical of the objects represented. Thus a jackal was made the type of cunning, and an ape the type of rage. By a still further application of this abbreviated symbolism, a pair of human arms with spear and shield denoted fighting, a pair of human legs meant walking, while a hoe was the type of digging, an eye of seeing, &c. But even with this poetical addition, the means of expressing thoughts and ideas by pictorial representations was still very limited. . . . It seems certain, therefore, that at a very early date the practice of pure picture writing must have been found so complicated and inconvenient, that the necessity for a simpler mode of expressing their ideas was forced upon the Egyptian priesthood. The plan which they invented was highly ingenious. . . .

"To the greater number of their pictorial symbols, the Egyptians assigned the phonetic values of the particular sounds or names, of which each symbol previously had been only a simple picture. Thus to a mouth, *ru*, they assigned the value *r*, and to a hand, *tut*, the value *t*. . . .

"A similar process would appear to have taken place in India, as I will presently attempt to show by a separate examination of the alphabetical letters of Asoka's age with the pictures of various objects from which I believe them to have been directly descended. . . . My own conclusion is that the Indian alphabet is of purely Indian origin, just as much as the Egyptian hieroglyphics were the purely local invention of the people of Egypt. . . . I admit that several of the letters have almost exactly the same *forms* as those which are found amongst the Egyptian hieroglyphics for the same things, but their *values* are quite different, as they form different syllables in the two languages. Thus a pair of legs separated as in walking was the Egyptian symbol for walking or motion, and the same form, like the two sides of a pair of

compasses, is the Indian letter *g*, which as *ga* is the commonest of all the Sanscrit roots for walking or motion of any kind. But the value of the Egyptian symbol is *s*; and I contend that if the symbol had been *borrowed* by the Indians, it would have retained its original value. This, indeed, is the very thing that happened with the Accadian cuneiform symbols when they were adopted by the Assyrians." *

General Cunningham conjectures that the Indo-Pâli letter *Kh* is derived from the Indian hoe or mattock (*Khan*—to dig); that *Y* is derived from barley (*Yava*), or from a member of the human frame; that *D* is from the tooth (*Danta*), *Dh* from the bow (*Dhanus*), *P* is from the hand (*Pâni*), *M* is from the mouth (*Mukhâ*,) *V* is from the lute (*Vinâ*,) *N* is from the nose (*Nâsa*), *R* is from a rope (*Rajju*), *H* is from the hand (*Hasta*), *L* is from the plough (*Langa*) or from a member of the human frame, *S* is from the ear (*Sravana*), and so on.

"In this brief examination of the letters of the old Indian alphabet, I have compared their forms at the time of Asoka, or 250 B.C., with the pictures of various objects and of the different members of the human frame; and the result of my examination is the conviction that many of the characters still preserved, even in their simpler alphabetical forms, very strong and marked traces of their pictorial origin. My comparison of the symbols with the Egyptian hieroglyphics shows that many of them are almost identical representations of the same objects. But as the Indian symbols have totally different values from those of Egypt, it seems almost certain that the Indians must have worked out their system quite independently, although they followed the same process. They did not, therefore, borrow their alphabet from the Egyptians. . . .

"Now, if the Indians did not borrow their alphabet

* Cunningham's *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. i. 1877, pp. 52 and 53.

from the Egyptians, it must have been the local invention of the people themselves, for the simple reason that there was no other people from whom they could have obtained it. Their nearest neighbours were the peoples of Ariana and Persia, of whom the former used a Semetic character of Phœnician origin, reading from right to left, and the latter a cuneiform character formed of separate detached strokes, which has nothing whatever in common with the compact forms of the Indian alphabet." *

We have quoted the opinions of Mr. Thomas and General Cunningham, as there are no higher authorities than they on the subject of Indian alphabets. Our readers will, however, feel interested in the opinions of other scholars on this very important subject.

Weber maintains that the Hindus borrowed their alphabet from the Phœnicians, but modified and expanded it so much that the Indian alphabet may be called an Indian invention. Max Müller holds that India had no written alphabetic literature earlier than the fifth century B.C., and that the Indian alphabet is borrowed from the West. But Roth expresses his firm conviction, based on prolonged Vedic studies, that the vast collections of Vedic Hymns could not possibly have depended for existence on oral transmission, and he considers it as a *sine quâ non* that writing was known in Vedic times. Bühler holds that the Indian alphabet with its five nasals and three sibilants must have been developed in the grammatical schools of the Brâhmans; Goldstücker holds that writing was known when the Vedic Hymns were composed; and Lassen maintains that the Indo-pali or South Asoka alphabet is of purely indigenous Indian origin.

* *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. i. pp. 60 and 61.

CHAPTER III.

THE KINGS OF MAGADHA.

"I KNOW the Rig Veda, sir," says Nârada in the Chhândogya Upanishad (VII, 1, 2), "the Yajur Veda, the Sâma Veda, as the fourth the Atharvana, as the fifth the Itihâsa-Purâna," &c. This and other similar passages in the literature of the Epic Period would lead to the conclusion that some kind of annals of kings and dynasties existed, even in that ancient period, which were known as Itihâsa-Purânas. If such annals existed, beyond what we find in the Brâhmanas themselves, they have long since been lost. Probably such annals were preserved in the traditions of the people, and were altered and re-cast, and mixed up with legends from century to century, and from age to age, until, after about two thousand years, they finally assumed the shape in which we find them now,—the modern Purânas. For the Purânas which exist now were compiled in the Puranic Period, and have since been altered and considerably enlarged during many centuries *after* the Mahommedan conquest of India.

When these Purânas were first discovered by Sir William Jones and other European scholars, great hopes were entertained that they would throw light on the ancient history of India. A host of eminent scholars turned their attention to this new field of inquiry, and Dr. H. H. Wilson gave to English readers a transation of the Vishnu Purâna, "in the hope of supplying some of the necessary means to a satisfactory elucidation

of an important chapter in the history of the human race." *

The royal race of the Kosalas is called in the Purânus the race of the Sun, while that of the Kurus is called the race of the Moon. According to the Purânas there were no less than ninety-three kings of the solar line, and no less than forty-five kings of the lunar line before the Kuru-Panchâla war was fought. Accepting B.C. 1250 as the date of the war, as we have done, and giving a modest average of fifteen years for each reign, it would seem that the Aryans settled in the Gangetic valley and founded kingdoms there, not about 1400 B.C. as we have imagined, but at least a thousand years earlier. It would seem that Indian antiquarians have been too modest in their supposition about the limits of the Epic Age, and that instead of fixing four centuries, from B.C. 1400 to 1000, for that age, we could extend it to fifteen centuries, from B.C. 2500 to 1000. And as the Vedic Period preceded the Epic Age, we could reckon the former from B.C. 3000, if not a still earlier date.

We have mentioned these facts to show that the dates which are generally given for the first two epochs of Indian history are merely tentative, and that further researches may require their extension, as has been the case in the instances of Egypt and Chaldea. We do not yet feel justified in extending them, merely on the authority of the lists preserved in the Purânas of the solar and lunar kings; but nevertheless these lists are important and suggestive. They remind us that the rise and fall of nations and dynasties in India cannot always be limited within the brief limits of a few centuries, but may have occupied a thousand years and more. And they also remind us that if we have accepted B.C. 2000 as the commencement of the Vedic Period, it is only as a tentative measure, and that future researches may justify our extending it to B.C. 3000, or to a yet remoter date.

* Preface to the *Vishnu Purâna.*

To return now to the Puranic lists. It is scarcely necessary to mention that among the solar kings we find the name of Râma, the hero of the Râmâyana, and among the lunar kings we find the names of the five Pândava brothers, the heroes of the Mahâbhârata. Among the lunar kings we also find the names of Anga, Vanga, Kalinga, Sumbha, and Pundra, which are really local names, being East Behar, East Bengal, Orissa, Tippera, and North Bengal respectively. Legends connected with the colonisation of Eastern India must have been mixed up with the accounts of the royal race of the Kurus.

It will thus be seen that annals of the solar and lunar dynasties preserved in the Purânas are partly historical and partly legendary. In this respect they may be compared with the chronicles of the world's history written and copied from century to century by European monks in the Middle Ages. Each monk began with the creation of the world, as each Purâna begins with the founders of the solar and the lunar dynasties; and, like the writers of the Purânas, Christian monks wove together legends, miracles, with episodes from Jewish history, and narrated the discovery of Britain by the Trojans, and the fables about Arthur and Roland, along with real historical facts and incidents. Nevertheless, there was a portion in the chronicle of each renowned monk which had its value for the purposes of history. As the writer came nearer to his time, he generally wrote an authentic account of his country, its kings and its monasteries. And as if to complete the parallel, we find something at the very close of the Puranic annals, which is valuable for our historical purpose.

The existing Purânas, as we have said before, were compiled or recast in the Puranic Period, *i.e.*, immediately on the close of the Buddhist Period. And as throughout the Rationalistic and Buddhist Periods the empire of Magadha was the centre of civilisation and power in India, the Purânas furnish us with something that is

valuable about this one kingdom,—Magadha. According to our custom, we will quote the lists from the Vishnu Purâna which relates to this kingdom.

"I will now relate to you the descendants of Brihadratha who will be (the kings) of Magadha. There have been several powerful princes of this dynasty, of whom the most celebrated was Jarâsandha. His son was Sahadeva; his son is Somâpi;* his son will be Srutavat; his son will be Ayutayus; his son will be Niramitra; his son will be Sukshatra; his son will be Brihatkarman; his son will be Senajit; his son will be Srutanjaya; his son will be Vipra; his son will be Suchi; his son will be Kshemya; his son will be Suvrata; his son will be Dharma; his son will be Susrama; his son will be Dridhasena; his son will be Sumati; his son will be Subala; his son will be Sunîta; his son will be Satyajit; his son will be Visvajit; his son will be Ripunjaya. These are the Bârhadrathas who will reign for a thousand years."

Although the Vâyu Purâna, the Bhâgavata Purâna, and the Matsya Purâna agree with the Vishnu Purâna in giving the Bârhadrathas a thousand years, yet we will venture to correct these venerable authorities, and will scarcely give 500 years to the twenty-two princes. Indeed the Vishnu Purâna corrects itself, as we shall find further on.

"The last of the Brihadratha dynasty Ripunjaya will have a minister named Sunika, who, having killed his sovereign, will place his own son Pradyotana upon the throne. His son will be Pâlaka; his son will be Visâkhayûpa; his son will be Janaka; and his son will be Nandivardhana. These five kings of the house of Pradyota will reign over the earth for a hundred and thirty-eight years.

* The writer is supposed to be living at the time of Somâpi, *i.e.*, shortly after the Kuru-Panchala war, and therefore speaks in the future tense of prophecy of the succeeding princes.

"The next prince will be Sisunâga; his son will be Kâkavarna; his son will be Kshemadharman; his son will be Kshatraujas; his son will be Vidmisâra; his son will be Ajâtasatru; his son will be Darbhaka; his son will be Udayâsva; his son will also be Nandivardhana; and his son will be Mahânandin. These ten Saisunâgas will be kings of the earth for three hundred and sixty-two years."

Here we will pause, for we find in the list one or two names with which we are already familiar. Vidmisâra is called Bimbisâra in the Vâyu Purâna, and is the same king of Râjagriha in whose reign Gautama Buddha was born in Kapilavastu. And his son Ajâtasatru is the powerful king in the eighth year of whose reign Gautama died. We have accepted 477 B.C. as the year of Buddha's death, and allowing a hundred years for the remaining portion of Ajâtasatru's reign and the reigns of his four successors, we get about 370 B.C. as the date when Mahânandin died, and the dynasty of the Sisunâgas was at an end.

If now we accept the periods which have been given for the different dynasties in the Vishnu Purâna, we get 1000 years for the Brihadratha dynasty; 138 years for the Pradyota dynasty; and 362 years for the Sisunâga dynasty; or, in other words, exactly 1500 years from the Kuru-Panchâla war to the end of the Sisunâga dynasty. Or, in other words, if the Sisunâga dynasty ended about 370 B.C., the Kuru-Panchâla war took place about 1870 B.C.

But the Vishnu Purâna's chronology is wrong, and the Vishnu Purâna's astronomy corrects its chronology. For, towards the close of the very chapter from which we have made the above extracts (Book IV, Chapter XXIV), the Vishnu Purâna says: "From the birth of Parikshit to the coronation of Nanda, it is to be known that 1015 years have elapsed. When the two first stars of the Seven Rishis (the Great Bear) rise in the heavens and some lunar asterism is seen at night at an equal distance between them, then the Seven Rishis continue stationary in

that conjunction, for a hundred years of men. At the birth of Parikshit, they were on Maghâ; when the Seven Rishis are in Pûrvâsâdha, then Nanda will begin to reign." From Maghâ to Purvâsâdha both inclusive there are ten asterisms, and hence, it is calculated, a thousand years elapsed between Parikshit and Nanda. And if Nanda began his reign (*i.e.*, the Sisunâga dynasty ended) about 370 B.C., Parikshit was born early in the fourteenth century, and the Kuru-Panchâla war was fought about 1400 B.C.

Our readers will see that this is within a century and a half of the date which we have assumed as the date of the Kuru-Panchâla war in an earlier portion of this work.

If, on the other hand, we leave aside the astronomical reasons and assign an average period of 20 years* to the 37 kings of the Brihadratha, Pradyota, and Sisunâga dynasties, then we shall have for the Kuru-Panchâla war a date 740 years before Nanda, or in other words 1110 B.C. And this date is also within a century and a half of the year which we have fixed for that war. The date we have fixed for the war must therefore be approximately correct.

From the above facts we will try to make out something like a probable list of dates for the Magadha kings. We know that Ajâtasatru began his reign in 485 B.C., and that his father Bimbisâra commenced to reign in 537 B.C. If we allow a hundred years to the four predecessors of Bimbisâra, we arrive at the fact that the Sisunâga dynasty began at 637 B.C.

The Pradyota dynasty of five kings reigned before the Sisunâga dynasty, and these five reigns covered, we are told, a period of exactly 138 years. This gives a high average of over 27 years for each reign; but allowing for one or two long reigns, we may accept this period of 138 years for the Pradyota dynasty.

The Brihadratha dynasty with its 22 kings are said to

* This is a high average. But we must make allowance for weak kings with short reigns, whose names have been forgotten in later times, and have therefore not been included in the Puranic lists.

have reigned 1000 years. The figure is of course simply a round number, and has no value;—500 years would be nearer the mark, or rather let us say 484 years, to make it divisible by 22, the number of kings. Even this would give a high average of 22 years for each reign; but we may accept the average on the supposition that some unimportant reigns have been omitted.

On these calculations we make out the following lists; but each reader must decide for himself how much reliance he will place on the lists of kings preceding the historic dynasty of Bimbisâra and Ajâtasatru, called the Sisunâga dynasty, which commenced in the seventh century B.C. :—

BRIHADRATHA DYNASTY.

	B.C.
Jarâsandha	1280
Sahadeva (contemporary of the Kuru-Panchâla war)	1259
Somâpi	1237
Srutavat	1215
Ayutayus	1193
Niramitra	1171
Sukshatra	1149
Brihatkarman	1127
Senajit	1105
Srutanjaya	1083
Vipra	1061
Suchi	1039
Kshemya	1017
Suvrata	995
Dharma	973
Susrama	951
Dridhasena	929
Sumati	907
Subala	885
Sunîta	863
Satyajit	841
Visvajit	819
Ripunjaya	797 to 775

PRADYOTA DYNASTY.

	B.C.
Pradyotana	775
Pâlaka	747
Visâkhayûpa	719
Janaka	691
Nandivardhana	664 to 637

SISUNAGA DYNASTY.

	B.C.
Sisunâga	637
Kâkavarna	612
Kshemadharman	587
Kshatraujas	562
Bimbisâra	537
Ajâtasatru	485
Darbhaka	453
Udayâsva	432
Nandivardhana	411
Mahânandin	390 to 370

We will now proceed with our extracts.

"The son of Mahânandin will be born of a woman of the Sûdra class: his name will be Nanda (called) Mahâ-

padma; for he will be exceedingly avaricious. Like another Parasurâma, he will be the annihilator of the Kshatriya race; for after him the kings of the earth will (be Sûdras). He will bring the whole earth under one umbrella; he will have eight sons—Sumâlya and others—who will reign after Mahâpadma, and he and his sons will govern for a hundred years. The Brâhman Kautilya will root out the nine Nandas."

We find in the above extract mention of low-caste kings ascending the throne of Kshatriyas, and of the growing power and supremacy of these kings of Magadha among the kingdoms of Northern India. We also find mention of Kautilya, the renowned Chânakya who vowed vengeance against the house of the Nandas (see the drama called Mudrâ Râkshasa) and helped Chandragupta to ascend the throne of Magadha. The period of one hundred years assigned to Nanda and his eight sons is merely a round number, and has no value. We allow ample time to Nanda and his eight sons if we give them fifty years; and this brings us to B.C. 320 as the date of Chandragupta's accession to the throne of Magadha.

"Upon the cessation of the race of Nanda, the Mauryas * will possess the earth; for Kautilya will place Chandragupta on the throne. His son will be Bindusâra; his son will be Asoka Vardhana; his son will be Suyasas; his son will be Dasaratha; his son will be Sangata; his son will be Sâlisuka; his son will be Somasraman; and his successor will be Brihadratha. These are the ten Mauryas who will reign over the earth for a hundred and thirty-seven years."

The writer of the Vishnu Purâna here tells us of Asokavardhana, but does not vouchsafe to make any mention of the religious revolution which took place in his reign,—the greatest which the world has ever seen. To the Brâhman narrator, the deeds of the scheming

* The commentator says that Chandragupta was the son of Nanda by a wife named Murâ, whence the race was called Maurya.

Chânakya, who helped Chandragupta to the throne, are more worthy of mention than those of the imperial Asoka, who spread the name and religion of India from Antioch and Macedon to Cape Comorin and Ceylon! But to return to our story. Accepting the period of 137 years given for the Maurya dynasty, that dynasty came to an end in 183 B.C.

"The dynasty of the Sungas will next become possessed of the sovereignty; for Pushpa Mitra the general (of the last Maurya prince) will put his master to death and ascend the throne. His son will be Agnimitra; his son will be Sujyeshtha; his son will be Vasumitra; his son will be Ârdraka; his son will be Pulindaka; his son will be Ghoshavasu; his son will be Vajramitra; his son will be Bhâgavata; his son will be Devabhûti. These are the ten Sungas, who will govern the kingdom for a hundred and twelve years."

The genius of Kâlidâsa has immortalised the name of the second prince of this line in the celebrated play *Mâlavikâ-Agnimitra.** But Agnimitra is there named the king of Vidisa, not of Magadha. And his father, Pushpamitra the general, is represented as fighting with the Yavanas (Bactrian Greeks) on the Indus. This statement has probably some foundation in fact, for, after the time of Alexander the Great, the western frontier of India was the scene of continuous warfare between the Bactrians and the Hindus, and Magadha, as the central power in India, had to take its share in the wars. Accepting the period of 112 given to the Sunga dynasty, that dynasty came to its end in 71 B.C.

"Devabhûti the (last) Sunga prince being addicted to immoral indulgences, his minister, the Kânva, named Vâsudeva, will murder him and usurp the kingdom. His son will be Bhûmimitra; his son will be Nârâyana; his son will be Susarman. These four Kânvâyanas will be kings of the earth for forty-five years."

* It is doubtful, however, if Kâlidâsa is the real author of that play.

We will now assign dates to the kings of these dynasties, according to the periods fixed for the dynasties in the Vishnu Purâna.

NANDA DYNASTY.

	B.C.
Nanda and his eight sons	370 to 320

MAURYA DYNASTY.

Chandragupta	320
Bindusâra	291
Asoka	260
Suyasas	222
Dasaratha	215
Sangata	208
Sâlisuka	201
Somasraman	194
Brihadratha	187 to 183

SUNGA DYNASTY.

	B.C.
Pushpamitra	183
Agnimitra	170
Sujyeshtha	159
Vasumitra	148
Ardraka	137
Pulindaka	126
Ghoshavasu	115
Vajramitra	104
Bhâgavata	93
Devabhûti	82 to 71

KANVA DYNASTY.

Vâsudeva Kânva	71
Bhûmimitra	59
Nârâyana	48
Susarman	37 to 26

The short reigns of the most of these kings, the frequent change in dynasties, and the displacement of royal houses by generals or ministers, show that the glory of Magadha had passed, and a period of weakness and senile decay had set in. The empire which had laid down the law for all India in the days of Chandragupta and Asoka was in the last stage of feebleness, and was ready to welcome any strong invader or line of invaders who might choose to rule its destinies. Such invaders came from the south. The Andhra kingdom had already risen to power and distinction in the Deccan in the Rationalistic Period; and an Andhra chief (described as a "powerful servant") now conquered Magadha, and his dynasty ruled for four centuries and a half. Our last extract from the lists of the Vishnu Purâna will give the names of these Andhra kings.

"Susarman the Kânva will be killed by a powerful

servant named Sipraka of the Andhra tribe, who will become king (and found the Andhra-bhritya dynasty). He will be succeeded by his brother Krishna; his son will be Srî Sâtakarni; his son will be Pûrnotsanga; his son will be Sâtakarni; his son will be Lambodara; his son will be Ivîlaka; his son will be Meghasvati; his son will be Patumat; his son will be Arishtakarman; his son will be Hâla; his son will be Puttalaka; his son will be Pravilasena; his son will be Sundara Sâtakarni; his son will be Chakora Sâtakarmi; his son will be Sivasvati; his son will be Gautamîputra; his son will be Pulimat; his son will be Sivasrî Sâtakarni; his son will be Sivaskandha; his son will be Yajnasrî; his son will be Vijaya; his son will be Chandrasrî; his son will be Pulomârchis. These thirty Andhrabhritya kings will reign four hundred and fifty-six years."

Only twenty-four names, however, are given in the above list, but, along with the Vâyu and the Bhâgavata Purânas, the Vishnu Purâna says there were thirty kings of this line. And if the line began about 26 B.C., the period given above brings us down to 430 A.D.

If we divide this period of 456 years among the 24 princes named above, we get an average of exactly 19 years for each reign, as shown below:—

ANDHRA DYNASTY.

	B.C.		A.D.
Sipraka	26	Puttalaka	183
Krishna	7	Pravilasena	202
		Sâtakarni III.	221
	A.D.	Sâtakarni IV.	240
Sâtakarni I.	12	Sivasvati	259
Pûrnotsanga	31	Gautamîputra I.	278
Sâtakarni II.	50	Pulimat	297
Lambodara	69	Sâtakarni V.	316
Ivîlaka	88	Sivaskandha	335
Meghasvati	107	Yajnasrî Gautamîputra II.	354
Patumat	126	Vijaya	373
Arishtakarman	145	Chandrasrî	392
Hâla	164	Pulomârchis	411 to 430

These dates, however, do not coincide with the dates of the five sovereigns, from Gautamîputra I. to Gautamîputra II., as ascertained by scholars from inscriptions. It has been ascertained with tolerable certainty that these five kings reigned for nearly a hundred years, from 113 to 211 A.D.

It is needless to remark that the power of the Andhra kings varied from time to time, and we will see in the next chapter that the distant country of Saurâshtra was lost in the first century after Christ, but was reconquered by Gautamîputra II. The dynasty declined in the fifth century, and the empire of Magadha was then at an end; for, after the Andhras, various foreign tribes overran the country and brought ruin and disorder. The Vishnu Purâna says that, after the Andhras, "various races will reign as seven Âbhiras, ten Gardhabhilas; sixteen Sakas; eight Yavanas; fourteen Tushâras; thirteen Mundas; eleven Maunas, who will be sovereigns of the earth."

CHAPTER IV.

KASHMIR AND GUJRAT.

WE have in the last chapter confined our remarks to the main story of the central political power in India. We have seen that from the time of Sisunâga, in the seventh century B.C., the supreme power in India was held by the kings of Magadha. We have seen that after the destruction of several dynasties, the supreme power passed away to the hands of the Andhras, who held it from the first century B.C. to the fifth century A.D.

While the Andhras were wielding supreme power in the centre of India, the western provinces suffered from a series of foreign invasions, of which some account should be given.

After the retreat of Alexander the Great, Chandragupta expelled the Greeks out of India, defeating Seleucus, the Greek ruler of the Indus provinces. The Greeks, however, had an independent kingdom in Bactria, and there was frequent intercourse, sometimes friendly and sometimes hostile, between the Hindus and the Bactrian Greeks. The Bactrian Greeks were great coiners, and it is from their coins that complete lists of their kings down to 130 B.C. have been compiled. Occasionally these kings extended their supremacy beyond the Indus,* and it is certain that their civilisation had considerable influence over the civilisation and the arts of the Buddhist Hindus. Greek sculptures are found among

* Our readers will remember, for instance, that Menander, the Bactrian king, conquered Western India as far as the Ganges.

Buddhist ruins, and Greek inscriptions stamped on Hindu coins.

About 126 B.C., the little civilised kingdom of Bactria came to an untimely end through the invasions of the Yu-Chi and other cognate Turanian tribes, who swept through Central Asia, and subsequently conquered Kabul and occupied the country as far as the Indus.* Havishka, a king of this race, ruled in Kabul. He seems to have been driven out thence, and conquered Kashmir, where his successors Hushka and the great Kanishka ruled after him, in the first century after Christ.

Kanishka was a great conqueror, and his empire extended from Kabul and Yarkand as far as Agra and Gujrat. Nothing like this had been witnessed in India since the time of Asoka the Great. Houen Tsang tells us that tributary princes from China sent hostages to him, and the town where these hostages lived was called Chinapati. Kanishka was also a staunch Buddhist; he held the Great Council of the Northern Buddhists, and emissaries were sent to introduce Buddhism in the neighbouring kingdoms. We have already said before that the era known as the Sakâbda was established from Kanishka's reign. Dr. Oldenberg maintains that the Saka Era is reckoned from the date of Kanishka's coronation, and this conclusion seems to be well founded.

On Kanishka's death his vast empire fell to pieces, and Kashmir sank into the insignificance from which it had risen. This kingdom has a history of its own, called the Râja Taranginî,† by Kahlana Pandita, who lived in the twelfth century after Christ, and we shall pause here to notice a few facts from this history.

Little of any importance is noted before the time of

* Our readers will remember that this troublesome tribe had penetrated into India 350 years before through the Himâlayas, and was checked by Ajâtasatru about the time of Gautama Buddha's death.

† An English translation of this work has been completed by my esteemed brother, Mr. Jogesh Chunder Dutt. Two volumes, Stanhope Press, 249 Bowbazar Street, Calcutta, 1879 and 1887. London, Trübner & Co.

Kanishka. We are told that fifty-two kings reigned for a period of 1266 years from the time of the Kuru-Panchâla war to Abhimanyu, the successor of Kanishka. And this would place the Kuru-Panchâla war in the twelfth century before Christ. We are also told that Asoka, the third king before Kanishka, was a Buddhist and "a truthful and spotless king, and built many Stûpas on the banks of the Vitastâ." His successor Jaloka was an orthodox Hindu king, and drove back the *Mlechchas*, who were pouring in from the west. This horde must have been the Turanians who conquered Kashmir so soon after. Jaloka was succeeded by Damodara II., and then came the foreign conquerors, and "during their long reign Buddhist hermits were all-powerful in the country, and the Buddhist religion prevailed without opposition."

We subjoin a list of the thirty-one kings from Kanishka, and up to the time of Mâtrigupta, the contemporary of Vikramâditya of Ujjayinî. If we accept 78 A.D. as the date of Kanishka's coronation, and 550 A.D. as the date of Mâtrigupta, then we get the intervening 472 years for 31 reigns, giving a not improbable average of over 15 years for each reign.

	A.D.		A.D.
Kanishka	78	Aksha	340
Abhimanyu	100	Gopâditya	355
Gonanda	115	Gokarna	370
Bibhîsana I.	130	Narendrâditya	385
Indrajit	145	Yudhisthira	400
Râvana	160	Pratâpâditya	415
Bibhîsana II.	175	Jalauka	430
Nara I.	190	Tunjina	445
Siddha	205	Vijaya	460
Utpalâksha	220	Jayendra	475
Hiranyâksha	235	Sandhimati	490
Mukula	250	Meghavâhana	505
Mihirakula	265	Shreshta Sena	520
Vaka	280	Hiranya	535 to 550
Kshitinanda	295	And Hiranya was succeeded by Mâtrigupta.	
Vasunanda	310		
Nara II.	325		

A few of the kings deserve a passing notice. Nara I. is said to have been a violent persecutor of Buddhists, and burnt numerous monasteries, and gave the villages which supported them to Brâhmans. In the reign of Mukula the *Mlechchas* once more overran Kashmir, but his successor Mihirakula was a great conqueror, and is said to have spread his conquests as far as Karnâta and Ceylon. He was also a persecutor of Buddhists. Pratâpâditya began a new dynasty. A severe famine visited Kashmir in the reign of his grandson Tunjina, in consequence of the *sâli* grain being blighted by a sudden and heavy frost. Meghavâhana seems to have been favourably disposed towards Buddhism; he is said to have carried his conquering arms as far as Ceylon, and he prohibited the slaughter of animals in his own kingdom and in all the kingdoms he conquered. His queens built numerous Buddhist monasteries. His son Shreshta Sena and then his grandson Hiranya succeeded; and then a stranger Mâtrigupta was helped to the throne of Kashmir by Vikramâdîtya of Ujjayinî, then all-powerful in India.

From this brief account of Kashmir we now turn to Gujrat. We have stated before that the great Kanishka extended his conquests southwards as far as Gujrat. A race of rulers known as the Kshaharatas held sway in Gujrat as the vassals of Kanishka's successors. But after the time of Nahapâna, these rulers became independent kings, and maintained their independence against the Andhras of Magadha, who claimed suzerainty over Saurâshtra. These rulers, generally known as the "Shah kings," or the Kshatrapas, are known to us only by their coins and inscriptions, and it has now been settled after much controversy that they adopted the Saka Era, and all their coins and inscriptions are dated according to this era. A list of the Shah kings is given below, in the order in which they are placed by the industrious and able scholar Bhagvanlal Indraji. We give only one coin date for each king.

SHAH KINGS OF SAURASHTRA.

	Coin Dates.	A.D.		Coin Dates.	A.D.
Nahapâna . .	41	119	Vijayasena . .	160	238
Chashtana . .	—	—	Îsvaradatta . .	—	—
Jayadâman . .	—	—	Damajadasrî .	176	254
Rudradâman .	72	150	Rudrasena . .	180	258
Dâmazada . .	—	—	Bhartridâman .	200	278
Jîvadâman . .	100	178	Visvasinha . .	198	276
Rudrasinha . .	103	181	Sinhasena . .	—	—
Rudrasena . .	125	203	Visvasena . .	216	294
Sanghadâman .	144	222	Rudrasinha . .	231	309
Prithivîsena .	144	222	Yasodâman . .	240	318
Damasena . .	148	226	Sinhasena . .	—	—
Damajadasrî .	154	232	Rudrasena . .	270	348
Vîradâman . .	158	236	Rudrasinha . .	310	388
Yasodâman . .	160	238			

Among the many inscriptions of this dynasty which have been found in different places in Western India, we will only quote one, which is perhaps the earliest, and which will give our readers a fair idea of these inscriptions. The following inscription, found in the Nâsik caves, belongs to Nahapâna, who heads the list given above :—

To the Perfect One ! This cave and these small tanks were caused to be constructed on the mounts Trirasmi in Govardhana by the beloved Usavadâta, the son-in-law of King Kshaharata Satrap Nahapana, son of Dinika, who gave three hundred thousand cows, presented gold, and constructed flights of steps on the river Bârnâsâya ; gave sixteen villages to gods and Brâhmans ; fed a hundred thousand Brâhmans every year ; provided eight wives for Brâhmans at Prabhasu the holy place ; constructed quadrangles, houses, and halting-places at Bharukachchha, Dasapura, Govardhana, and Sorparaga ; made gardens, tanks, and wells ; charitably enabled men to cross Ibâ, Parâdâ, Damana, Tâpî, Karabinâ, and Dahunukâ, by placing boats on them ; constructed Dharmasâlâs and endowed places for the distribution of water, and gave capital worth a thousand for thirty-two Nâdhigeras for the Charanas and Parishads in Pinditakâvada, Govardhana, Suvarnamukha, Sorparaga, Râmatîrtha, and in the village of Nâmagola. By the command of the lord, I went in the rainy season to Mâlaya to release Hirudha the Uttamabhadra.

The Mâlayas fled away at the sound (of our war music), and were all made subjects of the Kshatriyas, the Uttamabhadras. Thence I went to Poksharanî, and there performed ablutions and gave three thousand cows and a village.

The above inscription of Nahapâna found in the Nâsak caves is of great importance, as it shows how even a vassal of the Buddhist kings of Kashmir delighted in doing honour and making gifts to Brâhmans, and how Hinduism and Buddhism flourished side by side in the centuries immediately succeeding the Christian Era, except when some intolerant prince occasionally filled the throne. To bestow gold and cattle and villages to Brâhmans; to construct bathing *ghâts*, halting-places, *dharmasâlâs*, gardens, tanks, and wells; to establish free ferries, and to endow institutions for charitable purposes, were acts which were deemed worthy of royal charity and benevolence. And lastly, we learn from this inscription that the Saurâshtras undertook an expedition against the Mâlayas in order to help a race of friendly Kshatriyas, the Uttamabhadras.

The most remarkable inscription of the Shah kings, however, is that on a bridge near Girnar, known as Rudra Dâman's bridge, which was first read by James Prinsep, and revised and more correct readings have since been published. By referring to the list of kings given above, our readers will see that Rudra Dâman was the third king after Nahapâna, and reigned in the middle of the second century A.D. The inscription is remarkable on account of its reference to Asoka the Great, and his grandfather Chandragupta. We are told in the inscription that the ancient bridge was swept away by an inundation; that it was repaired by Puspagupta the chief artificer of the Maurya king Chandragupta, and then by Tushaspa the Yavana Raja of Asoka; that it was then constructed by the great Satrap (Mahâkshatrapa) Rudra Dâman in the year 72 (Saka Era, *i.e.*, 150 A.D.). In this inscription Rudra Dâman boasts that

having repeatedly overcome Sâtakarni, the lord of Dakshinâpatha, he concluded an alliance with him. And he also boasts of having conquered Saurâshtra, Kutch, and other places. The above inscription of Rudra Dâman would show that the Shah kings of Saurâshtra were often the rivals of the great Andhra kings.

On the other hand, Gautamîputra of the Andhra line boasts, in an inscription in a cave at Nassik, that he had conquered Saurâshtra, Kutch, and other countries, and destroyed the race of the Khaharata. This was Gautamîputra II., who ruled at the close of the second century after the Christian Era.

We have spoken of the invasions and conquests of three distinct races, viz., of the Bactrian Greeks in the second century before Christ, of the Yu-Chi and other cognate Turanians in the first century after Christ, and lastly, of their vassals the Shah kings, who ruled in Saurâshtra for three centuries. Other invasions followed in the wake, of which history scarcely keeps any note.

At last, the great White Huns appeared on the scene in the fourth and fifth century of the Christian Era. Their locust hordes spread over Persia, and compelled Bahram Gaur, king of Persia, to seek an asylum in India and an alliance with the king of Kanouj, whose daughter he married. It is probable that this royal maiden who espoused a Persian husband was a daughter of the Gupta line, for the Gupta emperors were then ruling in Kanouj, and were the paramount power in India. We will speak of them in the next chapter.

CHAPTER V.

GUPTA KINGS.

HALF a century ago, James Prinsep indicated the necessity of arranging all inscriptions found in India for the study of the ancient history of India, and he also suggested that the collective publication should bear the name of *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.*

In 1877 General Sir Alexander Cunningham brought out the first volume of this proposed work, and this volume contains the inscriptions of Asoka which we have spoken of in the first chapter of this book.

In 1888 Mr. Fleet of the Bombay Civil Service brought out the third volume of this work, containing the inscriptions of the Gupta kings, and giving a history of the controversy about the date of the Guptas, which has been carried on during the last forty years in India and in Europe.

The second volume of the proposed work, which would contain the inscriptions of the Shah kings of Saurâshtra, has not yet been commenced. It is to be hoped that some able scholar and experienced archæologist will yet be employed on this work, and will complete the collection of Indian inscriptions which are invaluable for the elucidation of the Buddhist Period of Indian History.

We have seen that the controversy relating to the date of the Guptas has gone on for well-nigh forty years, and many of the ablest Oriental scholars have engaged themselves in this controversy. The history of this remarkable controversy occupies over thirty folio pages of Mr. Fleet's

valuable work! Happily it is a controversy which is now at an end, and the conclusion arrived at is beyond reasonable doubt. Alberuni wrote in the eleventh century that the Gupta Era was posterior to the Saka Era by 241 years, or in other words, the Gupta Era begins with 319 A.D. All the facts collected during recent years confirm this statement, and we can now read the dates in the Gupta coins and inscriptions, remembering that we have to add 319 to them to find out the dates of the Christian Era. Mr. Fleet, with a pardonable partiality for his own labours, maintains that the Mandasor inscription which he has discovered finally settles the controversy. Scholars are pretty well agreed on this point, and the Mandasor inscription probably confirms the conclusion.

We give below a list of the Gupta kings, with their coin and inscription dates, and the corresponding years of the Christian Era :—

	Coin and Inscription Dates.	A. D.
(Mahârâja) Gupta	. . . .	About 300.
Ghatotkacha	. . . .	„ 310.
Chandra Gupta I. (or Vikramâditya)	. . . .	„ 319.
Samudra Gupta	. . . .	„ 350.
Chandra Gupta II. (or Vikramâditya)	82, 88, 93, 95.	401, 407, 412, 414.
Kumâra Gupta (or Mahendrâditya)	96, 98, 129, 130.	415, 417, 448, 449.
Skanda Gupta	136, 137, 138, 141, 144, 145, 146, 148, 149.	455, 456, 457, 460, 463, 464, 465, 467, 468.

Dr. Bühler supports the plausible view that the Gupta Era was in fact established by Chandragupta I. His successor, Samudra Gupta, reigned during the latter half of the fourth century. The famous Gupta inscription on the Allahabad *Lât* of Asoka throws much light on the extent of this great king's power and influence.

Whose great good fortune was mixed with, so as to be increased by, his glory produced by the favour shown in capturing and then liberating Mahendra of *Kosala*, Vyâghrarâja *Mahâkântâra*, Mantarâja of *Kerala*, Mahendra of *Pishtapura*, Svamidatta of *Kottura* on the hill, Damana of *Erandapalla*, Vishnugopa of *Kânchî*, Nîlarâja of *Avamukta*, Hastivarman of *Vengi*, Ugrasena of *Palakka*, Kuvera of *Devarâshtra*, Dhananjaya of *Kusthalapura*, and all other kings of the region of *the South;*

Who abounded in majesty which had been increased by violently exterminating Rudradeva, Matela, Nâgadatta, Chandravarman, Ganapatinâga, Nâgasena, Achyuta, Nandin, Balavarman, and many other kings of *Aryâvarta*, who made all the kings of the forest countries to become his servants;

Whose imperious commands were fully gratified by the payment of taxes and the execution of his orders by the frontier kings (*Pratyanta Nripati*) of *Samatata*, *Davâka*, *Kâmarûpa*, *Nepâla*, *Kartripura*, and other countries; and by the *Mâlavas*, *Arjunâyanas*, *Yaudheyas*, *Mâdrakas*, *Abhîras*, *Frâjunas*, *Sanakânîkas*, *Kâkas*, *Kharaparikas*, and other tribes;

Whose tranquil fame pervading the whole world was generated by establishing again many royal families fallen and deprived of sovereignty, whose binding together of the whole world, by means of the ample vigour of his arm, was effected by acts of respectful service,—such as offering themselves as sacrifices, bringing presents of maidens, giving Garuda tokens, surrendering the enjoyment of their own territories, soliciting his commands, &c.—— rendered by the *Daivaputras*, *Shahis*, *Shahanushahis*, *Sakas*, *Murundas*, and by the people of *Sinhala*, and all other dwellers in islands.

Here we have an elaborate and perhaps somewhat exaggerated account of the immense power of one of the early Gupta emperors. We learn that he conquered the kings of Kânchî, Kerâla, and other countries *in Southern India;* that he exterminated the kings of Âryâvarta or *Northern India;* that frontier kings of Samatata (East Bengal), Kâmarûpa (Assam), Nepal, and other places, and nations like the Mâlavas, Mâdrakas, and Abhîras obeyed his orders and paid him tribute; and that even the Shahs and Shahinshahs of western countries, and the people of Ceylon sent him tribute in offerings and gifts, and handsome maidens from their lands. We are told,

towards the close of this inscription, that this great king was "the son of the son's son of the Mahârâja the illustrious Gupta,"—"the son's son of the Mahârâja the illustrious Ghatotkacha,"—"the son of Mahârâjâdhirâja the glorious Chandragupta"—"begotten on the Mahâdevî Kumâradevî," a daughter of the Lichchavi royal house.

Samudragupta was succeeded by his son Chandragupta II. and among his inscriptions there is a short one found at Sanchi, which makes a grant of a village to Buddhist monks,—the "Ârya Sangha in the holy great Vihâra of Kâkanâdabota." Elsewhere, in an inscription on a stone found in Mathurâ, Chandragupta gives us his mother's name,—describing himself as the son of the Mahârâjâdhirâja Samudragupta "begotten on the Mâhâdevî Dattadevî."

Chandragupta II. was succeeded by his son Kumâragupta, who, in an inscription found in Bilsad, in the North-Western Provinces, gives us the entire genealogy of the family from the first Gupta. And he describes himself as "begotten on Mahâdevî Druvadevî of the Mahârâjâdhirâja the glorious Chandragupta."

Another inscription of Kumâragupta in Mankuwar, in Allahabad District, was discovered by Dr. Bhagvanlal Indraji in 1870. The inscription is under an image of Buddha seated, and we are informed that the image was installed by Kumâragupta in the year 129 (448 A.D.).

The celebrated Mandasor inscription discovered by Mr. Fleet was not engraved by order of the Gupta kings, but has reference to Kumâragupta, and may therefore be spoken of here. It is on a stone slab in front of a temple of Mahâdeva in the village of Dasapura, in Scindia's dominions. The inscription informs us that some silk weavers immigrated to this place from Gujrat, and that a portion of them formed a flourishing guild. At the time "when Kumâragupta was reigning over the whole earth," there was a ruler named Visvavarman, and his son Bandhuvarman was ruling in Dasapura when the

guild of weavers built a temple there, which was completed "in the season when the sound of thunder is pleasing, when 493 years had elapsed from the tribal constitution of the Mâlavas."

> "Mâlavânâm gana-sthityâ yâte sata chatushtaye
> Trinavatya-dhikâbdânâm ritau sevya-ghana-svane."

And we are further informed in this inscription that the temple was repaired in the year when 529 years o. the same Era had elapsed.

Mr. Fleet maintains that the particular Kumâragupta alluded to in this inscription of the Dasapura weavers is Kumâragupta of the Gupta line, and that the Era alluded to in this inscription is the Era of the Mâlavas, now known as Vikramâditya's Samvat Era beginning with 56 B.C. The temple was therefore built in (493–56)=437 A.D., and repaired in (529–56)=473 A.D.

This is a startling discovery; for if Mr. Fleet's supposition be correct, then the true origin of the *Samvat Era* is discovered. The Era was not founded by a Vikramâditya who reigned in 56 B.C., as was supposed by earlier scholars. *The Era was originally a national Era of the Mâlava tribe, and came subsequently to be connected with the name of Vikramâditya*, who about the sixth century A.D. raised the Mâlavas to the rank of the first nation in India.

Kumâragupta's son Skandagupta succeeded him; and his inscription on the pillar discovered in Ghazipur District, and known as the Bhitari Lât, gives us the genealogy of the Gupta kings given before, and continues it to Skandagupta. More important is the inscription found in Junagarh, in the Bombay Presidency. After an invocation to Vishnu, it tells us that Skandagupta,—who had subdued the whole earth as far as the seas, and whose fame was acknowledged even by his enemies "in the countries of the Mlechchhas,"—appointed Parnadatta to govern his kingdom of the Saurâshtras. Parnadatta

appointed his son Chakrapâlita. In the year 136 (Gupta Era, *i.e.*, 455 A.D.), the lake at the foot of Girnar burst its embankment in consequence of excessive rain, and the restoration of the breach after two months' work was effected in 137, and is the cause of the inscription.

Skandagupta appears to have been the last great king of the Gupta line, and some weak kings succeeded. There is an inscription of Buddhagupta in Eran, in the Central Provinces, and dated 165, *i.e.*, 484 A.D. It informs us that Surasmichandra, the feudatory of Buddhagupta, governed the country between the Kâlindî and the Narmadâ. The object of the inscription is to record the erection of a column to the god Vishnu under the name of Janârdana.

Another inscription in Eran alludes to Bhânugupta, and informs us that a chieftain or noble Goparâja accompanied him, and fought a battle and was killed. Goparâja's "devoted, attached, beloved, and beauteous wife, in close companionship, accompanied him into the funeral pyre."

The destruction of the powerful dynasty of the Guptas, which held the supreme power in India for over a century, has formed the subject of much controversy. Dr. Fergusson holds that the locust hordes of the White Huns, which extended their invasions far and wide in Asia, weakened Persia, and dealt the death-blow to the Guptas in India. Mr. Fleet shows some reasons* for believing that the great and relentless Mihirakula of the Punjab and his father Toramâna were Huns; that after the death of Skandagupta (who had once repelled the Huns) Toramâna wrested Eastern Malwa from the Guptas about 466 A.D.; that Mihirakula began his career of conquest and destruction about 515 A.D.; and that he was at last quelled by Yasadharman, the powerful king of Northern India. The sway of the Huns in Central India was thus of short duration, but Cosma Indico Pleustes, writing in the sixth century, tells us that

* Indian Antiquary, vol. XV. p. 245, &c.; *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. iii. p. 11, &c.

the Huns in his day were still a powerful nation settled and holding sway in the Punjab.

These and other foreign invaders, of whom we have spoken before, settled down among the people, adopted the language, the religion, and the civilisation of India, and thus formed new Hindu races, destined to play an important part in the political revolution which ensued at the close of the Puranic Period, in the ninth and tenth centuries.

CHAPTER VI.

FA HIAN'S ACCOUNT OF INDIA.

IN the last three chapters we have attempted to give our readers an account, unfortunately scanty and meagre, of some of the principal ruling dynasties in India in the Buddhist Period. But an account of ruling dynasties in not a History of India, and it is necessary that we should try to form a more distinct notion of the numerous races which inhabited India, their chief towns, their arts, and their civilisation. Happily we have some material at our disposal to help us in this undertaking, in the records of a Chinese traveller who visited India about the close of the period of which we are speaking.

Fa Hian came to India about 400 A.D., and begins his account of it with UDYÂNA, or the country round Kabul, with which he says North India commenced. The language then spoken here was the language of Mid-India, and the dress and food and drink of the people were the same.* Buddhism was then flourishing, and there were five hundred *Sangha-ârâmas* or abodes of monks. He passed though SVAT, GÂNDHÂRA, TAXASÎLÂ, and PESHAWAR, in which last place he saw a Buddhist tower of remarkable strength, beauty of construction, and height.

Travelling through Nagarahâra and other countries, and after crossing the Indus, Fa Hian at last reached the MATHURÂ country on the Jumna river. On the sides of the river, both right and left, there were twenty

* Throughout this chapter we rely on Beal's translation, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, 2 vols., 1884.

Sanghârâmas, with perhaps 3000 priests. The religion of Buddha was progressing and flourishing. "Beyond the deserts are the countries of Western India. The kings of these countries (Rajputana) are all firm believers in the law of Buddha. . . . Southward from this is the so-called middle country (Madhyadesa). The climate of this country is warm and equable, without frost or snow. The people are very well off, without poll tax or official restrictions; only those who till the royal lands return a portion of profit of the land. If they desire to go, they go; if they like to stop, they stop.* The kings govern without corporal punishment; criminals are fined according to circumstances, lightly or heavily. Even in cases of repeated rebellion, they only cut off the right hand. The king's personal attendants who guard him on the right and left have fixed salaries. Throughout the country the people kill no living thing, nor drink wine, nor do they eat garlic or onions, with the exception of Chandâlas only. . . . In this country they do not keep swine nor fowls, and do not deal in cattle; they have no shambles or wine shops in their market-places. In selling they use cowrie-shells. The Chandâlas only hunt and sell flesh. Down from the time of Buddha's Nirvâna, the kings of these countries, the chief men and householders have raised Vihâras, and provided for their support by bestowing on them fields, houses, and gardens, with men and oxen. Engraved title-deeds were prepared and handed down from one reign to another; no one has ventured to withdraw them, so that till now there has been no interruption. All the resident priests having chambers (in these Vihâras), have their beds, mats, food, drink, and clothes provided without stint; in all places this is the case."

* It is abundantly proved by the literature of the Hindus, and by the testimony of Greek and Chinese travellers, that the system of agricultural slavery, which prevailed in Europe in the Middle Ages, was never known in India.

Our traveller passed through Sankâsya and came to KANOUJ. Our readers will remember that Kanouj was at this time the flourishing capital of the Gupta emperors, but unfortunately Fa Hian has little to say about the city except its two Sanghârâmas!

Passing through Shachi, Fa Hian came to KOSALA and its ancient capital Srâvasti. But that great city had declined since the days of Buddha, and the Chinese pilgrim saw very few inhabitants in the city, altogether about 200 families. But Jetavana, in which Buddha had often preached, had not lost its natural beauty, and the Vihâra there was now ornamented with clear tanks, luxuriant groves, and numberless flowers of variegated hues. The monks of the Vihâra, on learning that Fa Hian and his companion had travelled from China, exclaimed, "Wonderful! to think that men from the frontiers of the earth should come so far as this from a desire to search for the law."

KAPILAVASTU, the birth-place of Gautama, was no more in its glory. "In this city there is neither king nor people; it is like a great desert. There is simply a congregation of priests, and about ten families of lay people." KUSHINAGARA, too, where Gautama had died, was no longer a town. There were but few inhabitants, and such families as there were, were connected with the resident congregation of priests.

Fa Hian then came to VAISÂLI, once the proud capital of the Lichchavis, and the spot where Gautama had accepted the hospitality of the courtesan Ambapâli. Here, too, was held the Second Council, and Fa Hian alludes to it: "One hundred years after the Nirvâna of Buddha there were at Vaisâli certain Bhikshus who broke the rules of the Vinaya in ten particulars, saying that Buddha had said it was so; at which time the Arhats and the orthodox Bhikshus, making an assembly of 700 ecclesiastics, compared and collected the Vinaya Pitaka afresh."

Crossing the Ganges, our traveller came to PÂTALI-

PUTRA or Patna, first built by Ajâtasatru to check his northern foes, and afterwards the capital of Asoka the Great. "In the city is the royal palace, the different parts of which he (Asoka) commissioned the genii to construct by piling up the stones. The walls, doorways, and the sculptured designs are no human work. The ruins still exist." By the tower of Asoka was an imposing and elegant Sanghârâma and temple with 600 or 700 monks. The great Brâhman teacher Manjusrî himself lived in the Buddhist Sanghârâma, and was esteemed by Buddhist Srâmans. We have also here an account of the pomp and circumstance with which Buddhist rites were then celebrated. "Every year on the eighth day of the second month there is a procession of images. On this occasion they construct a four-wheeled car and erect upon it a tower of five stages, composed of bamboos lashed together, the whole being supported by a centre post, resembling a spear with three points, in height 22 feet and more. So it looks like a pagoda. They then cover it over with fine white linen, which they afterwards paint with gaudy colours. Having made figures of the Devas, and decorated them with gold, silver, and glass, they place them under canopies of embroidered silk. Then at the four corners (of the car) they construct niches (shrines) in which they place figures of Buddha in a sitting posture, with a Bodhisattva standing in attendance. There are perhaps twenty cars thus prepared, and differently decorated. During the day of the procession, both priests and laymen assemble in great numbers. There are games and music, whilst they offer flowers and incense. The Brahmachâris come forth to offer their invitations. The Buddhas then one after the other enter the city. After coming into the town again they halt. Then all night long they burn lamps, indulge in games and music, and make religious offerings. Such is the custom of all those who assemble on this occasion from the different countries round about." This is a

valuable account from an eye-witness of the system of idolatry to which Buddhism had declined by the fifth century A.D.

More interesting to us is the account of the charitable dispensaries of the town of Pâtaliputra. "The nobles and householders of this country have founded hospitals within the city to which the poor of all countries, the destitute, cripple, and the diseased may repair. They receive every kind of requisite help gratuitously. Physicians inspect their diseases, and according to their cases order them food and drink, medicine or decoctions, everything in fact that may contribute to their ease. When cured, they depart at their convenience."

Fa Hian then visited RÂJAGRIHA, the new town built by Ajâtasatru, as well as the old town of Bimbisâra. The traveller here alludes to the first Buddhist Council, which was held immediately after the death of Buddha to compile the sacred texts. "There is a stone cave situated in the northern shade of the mountain, and called Cheti. This is the place where 500 Arhats assembled after the Nirvâna of Buddha to arrange the collection of sacred books."

At GAYÂ, Fa Hian found everything desolate and like a desert. He visited the famous Bo-tree and all the other places connected with Buddha's penances and attaining supreme wisdom, and tells legends which had grown up since Gautama's time. He then arrived at the country of KÂSÎ and the city of Benares, where he visited the deer park where Gautama had first proclaimed the truth. Two Sanghârâmas had been built here. Thence he went to the ancient town of Kausambi, where Gautama had often preached.

From Benares, Fa Hian returned to Pâtaliputra. The purpose of Fa Hian was to seek for copies of the Vinaya Pitaka; but "throughout the whole of Northern India the various masters trusted to tradition only for their knowledge of the precepts, and had no originals to copy

from. Wherefore Fa Hian had come even so far as Mid-India.* But here in the Sanghârâma of the great vehicle he obtained one collection of the precepts."

Proceeding down the course of the river Ganges, the pilgrim came to CHAMPÂ, on the southern shore of the river. We have already said before, that Champâ was the capital of Anga or East Behar, and was situated near modern Bhagalpur. Going further eastward and southward, Fa Hian came to TÂMRALIPTI, which was then the great seaport at the mouth of the Ganges. There were twenty-four Sanghârâmas in this country; all of them had resident priests, and the law of Buddha was generally respected. Fa Hian remained here for two years, writing out copies of the sacred books, and drawing image-pictures. He then shipped himself on board a great merchant vessel. Putting to sea, they proceeded in a south-westerly direction, catching the first fair wind of the winter season. They sailed for fourteen days and nights, and arrived at the "country of the lions" (*Sinhala* Ceylon).

CEYLON, our traveller says, had originally no inhabitants, but merchants came in great numbers and gradually settled here, and so a great kingdom rose. Then the Buddhists came (Fa Hian says, Bhuddha came), and converted the people. The climate of Ceylon was agreeable and the vegetation verdant, and to the north of the royal city was a great tower 479 feet in height, with a Sanghârâma containing 5000 monks. But amid these pleasing scenes, the heart of the traveller sickened for his home, from which he was now separated for many years, and when on one occasion the present of a fan of Chinese manufacture by a merchant, to a jasper figure of Buddha 22 feet high, reminded Fa Hian of his native country, he "gave way to his sorrowful feelings, and the tears flowing down filled his eyes."

* The whole tract of country from Mathurâ to Magadha was called Middle India.

After a residence of two years in Ceylon, and after obtaining copies of the Vinaya Pitaka and other works "hitherto unknown" in China, Fa Hian shipped himself on board a great merchant vessel which carried about 200 men. A great tempest arose, and the ship sprung a leak, and much cargo had to be thrown overboard. Fa Hian threw overboard his pitcher and his basin, "and was only afraid lest the merchants should fling into the sea his sacred books and images." The hurricane abated after thirteen days, the passengers came to a little island where they stopped the leak, and then put to sea again. "In this ocean there are many pirates, who, coming on you suddenly, destroy everything. The sea itself is boundless in extent; it is impossible to know east or west, except by observing the sun, moon, or stars, and so progress. . . At length, the weather clearing up, they got their right bearings, and once more shaped a correct course and proceeded onwards," and after over ninety days they reached Ye-po-ti (Java, or Sumatra). "In this country heretics and Brâhmans flourish."

Stopping here for nearly five months, Fa Hian embarked on board another merchant vessel with a crew of about 200 men, who took fifty days' provisions with them. After they had sailed for over a month, a storm again arose, and the superstitious Brâhmans said to one another, "It is because we have got this Srâman (Fa Hian) on board we have no luck, and have incurred this great mischief. Come let us land this Bhikshu on any island we may meet, and let us not all perish for the sake of one man." But Fa Hian's patron boldly stood by him and saved him from a miserable death in some lonely island. After sailing for eighty-two days, they arrived at the southern coast of China.

CHAPTER VII.

BUDDHIST ARCHITECTURE AND SCULPTURE.

THE Hindus first came in contact with a nation as civilised as themselves in the fourth and third centuries B.C., and a great deal has been written as to the indebtedness of the Hindus to the Greeks in the cultivation of their arts and sciences. As usual, some writers on the subject have rushed to hasty conclusions, and it has been asserted that in architecture and sculpture, and even in the art of writing and in their alphabet, the Hindus received their first lessons from the Greeks.

A cultured nation cannot come in contact with a great and civilised nation without deriving immense advantages in arts and civilisation. The gifted Greeks were certainly the most civilised nation in the earth in the fourth and third centuries before Christ, and what is more, they spread their wonderful civilisation over all the regions conquered by Alexander, until the whole of Western Asia from Antioch to Bactria presented the Greek type of civilisation, arts, and manners. That the Hindus were greatly indebted to the Greeks not only in the development of many arts, but also in the cultivation of some of the abstrusest sciences like astronomy, will be conceded by all historians of India; and it will be our pleasing duty to acknowledge such friendly services rendered by one cultured nation to another, wherever we find facts justifying us in acknowledging such indebtedness, or even in presuming it. But it is necessary to warn our readers against hasty assumptions where facts are absolutely

wanting, or where facts go directly against such assumptions.

In architecture the Hindus were not indebted to the Greeks. Buddhist Hindus developed their school of architecture themselves from the very commencement; they created their own style, which is purely Indian; they borrowed from no foreign school of architecture or building. In Gândhâra and in the Punjab columns have been found distinctly belonging to the Ionic order, and the general architecture, too, bears a Greek character. But in the vast continent of India itself, from Bombay to Cuttack, the architecture immediately before and immediately after the Christian Era is purely Indian in character. This would not have been the case if the Hindus had learnt their first lessons in architecture from the Greeks.

In sculpture, too, the Hindus (except in the Punjab) were not indebted to the Greeks. Dr. Fergusson, speaking of the rail of Bharut (200 B.C.), says: "It cannot be too strongly insisted upon that the art here displayed is purely indigenous. There is absolutely no trace of Egyptian influence. It is in every detail antagonistic to that art. Nor is there any trace of classical art; nor can it be affirmed that anything here established could have been borrowed directly from Babylonia or Assyria. The capitals of the pillars do resemble somewhat those at Persepolis, and the honeysuckle ornaments point in the same direction; but barring that the art, specially the figure sculpture belonging to the rail, seems an art elaborated on the spot, by Indians, and by Indians only." *

Having thus cleared our ground, we will now proceed to give a very brief account of some of the most striking specimens which still exist of the architecture and sculpture of the Hindus of the centuries immediately before and after the Christian Era, and Dr. Fergusson will be our guide on this subject. Such specimens are nearly all the work of Buddhists. Architecture in stone, previous to the

* Indian and Eastern Architecture, London, 1876, p. 89.

Buddhist movement, was confined mostly to engineering works, such as city walls, gates, bridges, and embankments; and if palaces and religious and civil edifices were also sometimes built of stone, no specimens of such have come down to us. On the other hand, the Hindu and Jaina edifices of stone which abound in all parts of India belong to the period subsequent to the fifth century of the Christian Era, and will therefore be treated of when we come to the Puranic Period. In the present chapter, therefore, we will speak of works constructed in the Buddhist Period, and such works are all Buddhist.

Dr. Fergusson classifies the works under five heads, viz. :—

(1) *Lâts*, or stone pillars, generally bearing inscriptions;

(2) *Stûpas*, or topes, erected to mark some sacred event or site, or to preserve some supposed relic of Buddha;

(3) *Rails*, often of elaborate workmanship; often erected to surround topes;

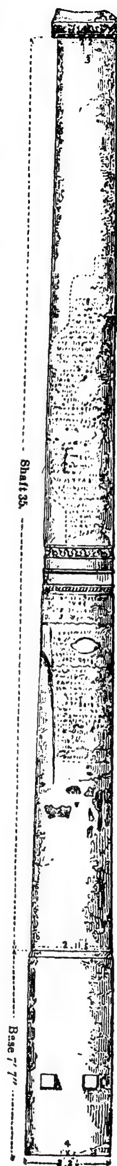
(4) *Chaityas*, or churches; and

(5) *Vihâras*, or monasteries.

The oldest LÂTS are those which were erected by Asoka in different parts of India, and bearing inscriptions conveying to his subjects the doctrines and moral rules of the Buddhist religion. The best known Lâts are those of Delhi and Allahabad, the inscriptions on which were first deciphered by James Prinsep. Both of these bore the inscriptions of Asoka, while the Allahabad Lât also bore a subsequent inscription of Samudragupta of the Gupta dynasty of kings, as we have stated before, and details the glories of his reign and the names of his ancestors. The Lât seems to have been thrown down and was re-erected by Emperor Jahangir in 1605 A.D., with a Persian inscription to commemorate the commencement of his reign. Like most other Lâts this has lost its crowning ornament, but a Lât in Tirhoot bears the figure of a lion on the top and the Lât of Sankâsya, between Mathura and Kanouj, bears the mutilated figure of

an elephant, so mutilated that Houen Tsang mistook it for a lion. At Karli, between Bombay and Poona, a Lât stands in front of the cave of Karli surmounted by four lions. The two Lâts at Eran are said to belong to the era of the Gupta kings.

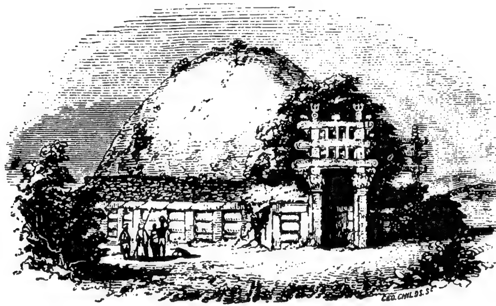
The remarkable iron pillar near the Kutab Minar has been seen by every tourist and traveller who has been to Delhi. It is 22 feet above ground and 20 inches under ground, and its diameter is 16 inches at the base and 12 inches at the capital. There is an inscription on it, as on other Lâts, but unfortunately the inscription bears no date. James Prinsep ascribed it to the fourth or fifth century, Dr. Bhau Daji to the fifth or sixth century. Admitting the fifth century to be its date, "it opens our eyes," as Dr. Fergusson states, "to an unsuspected state of affairs to find the Hindus at that age forging a bar of iron larger than any that have been forged even in Europe to a very late date, and not frequently even now. As we find them, however, a few centuries afterwards using bars as long as this Lât in roofing the porch of the temple at Kanarak, we must believe that they were much more familiar with the use of this metal than they afterwards became. It is almost equally startling to find that after an exposure to wind and rain for fourteen centuries, it is unrusted, and the capital and inscription are as clear and as sharp now as when put up fourteen centuries ago."



Allahabad Lât.

Of the STÛPAS, the Bhilsa topes are the most famous. Within an area ten miles east and west and six north and south, near

the village of Bhilsa, in the kingdom of Bhopal, there are no less than five or six groups of topes containing about twenty-five or thirty individual examples. General Cunningham first published an account of them in 1854, and since then they have been repeatedly described. The principal of these topes is known as the Great Tope of Sanchi, and has a base 14 feet high and a dome 42 feet high, and 106 feet in diameter at the point just above the base. The rails are 11 feet in height, and the gateway, covered with the most elaborated sculpture, which will be subsequently described, is 33 feet in height.



GREAT TOPE, SANCHI.

The centre of this great mound is quite solid; being composed of bricks laid in mud, but the exterior is faced with dressed stones. Over this there was a coat of cement which was no doubt adorned with painting and figures in relief.

There are many other groups near Sanchi, viz., one at Sonari, six miles away, one at Satdhara, three miles further on, and a numerous group at Bhojpur, seven miles from Sanchi. Another group is at Audhar, five miles from Bhojpur. Altogether there are no less than sixty topes within one small district.

Most of our readers who have visited Benares have seen the tope at Sarnâth, erected in the old deer park,

where Gautama first preached his new religion. It consists of a stone basement 93 feet in diameter, solidly built to the height of 43 feet. Above it is brickwork, rising to a height of 128 feet above the surrounding plain. The lower part is relieved by eight projecting faces elegantly carved, and with a niche in each. General Cunningham believes the date of this to be the sixth or seventh century A.D.

Another Bengal tope is known as Jarâsandha-ka-Baithak, 28 feet in diameter and 21 feet in height, resting on a base of 14 feet. It is mentioned by Houen Tsang, and its date is probably 500 A.D.

The central Stûpa or Dagoba at Amarâvatî which Houen Tsang saw no longer exists. In the Gândhâra country there are numerous examples. The great Dagoba, however, of Kanishka, over 470 feet in height, which Fa Hian and Houen Tsang saw, is no more. The most important group of the Gândhâra topes is that of Manikyala in the Punjab, between the Indus and the Jhelum. Fifteen or twenty were found in the spot, some of which were first opened by Ranjit Sinha's French generals, Ventura and Court, in 1830. The principal tope has a dome which is an exact hemisphere, 127 feet in diameter, and therefore about 400 feet in circumference.

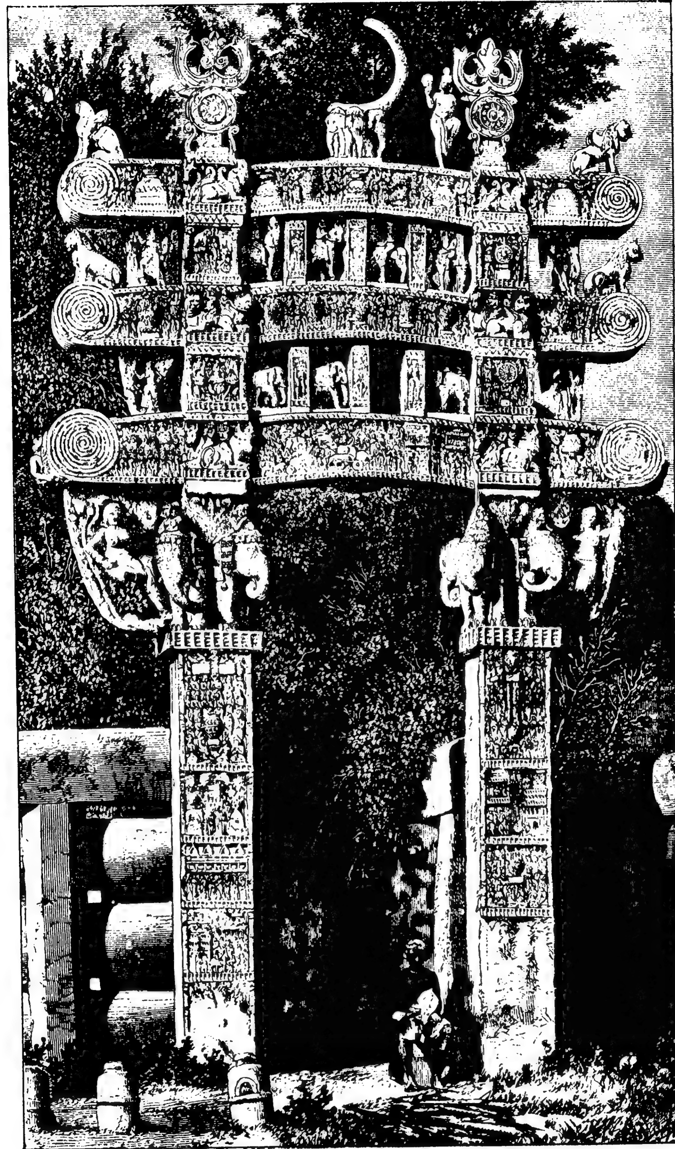
The most elaborately ornamented architectural works of the Buddhist Period are the RAILS and gateways generally found round Stûpas. The two oldest rails are those of Buddha Gayâ and of Bharhut; Dr. Fergusson assigns 250 B.C. for the former, and 200 B.C. for the latter. The former formed a rectangle 131 feet by 98 feet, and the pillars were 5 feet 11 inches in height.

Bharhut is situated between Allahabad and Jubbulpore. The tope enclosed here has entirely disappeared, having been utilised for building villages, but about one-half of the rail remains. It was originally 88 feet in diameter, and therefore about 275 feet in length. It had four entrances, guarded by statues 4½ feet high. From General Cunningham's restoration, it appears that the pillars of

the eastern gateway were 22 feet 6 inches in height. The beams had no human figures on them. The lower beam had a procession of elephants, the middle beam of lions, and the upper probably of crocodiles. The rail was 9 feet high, and the inner side was ornamented by a continuous series of bas-reliefs, divided from each other by a beautiful flowing scroll. About a hundred bas-reliefs have been recovered, all representing scenes or legends, and nearly all inscribed with the title of the Jâtaka represented. It is the only monument in India which is so inscribed, and this gives the Bharhut rails a unique value.

We make no apology for quoting the following remarks of Dr. Fergusson's about the state of Indian sculpture as disclosed by these rails:—"When Hindu sculpture first dawns upon us in the rails of Buddha Gayâ and Bharhut, B.C. 200 to 250, it is thoroughly original, absolutely without a trace of foreign influence, but quite capable of expressing its ideas, and of telling its story with a distinctness that never was surpassed, at least in India. Some animals, such as elephants, deer, and monkeys, are better represented there than in any sculptures known in any part of the world; so, too, are some trees, and the architectural details are cut with an elegance and precision which are very admirable. The human figures, too, though very different from our standard of beauty and grace, are truthful to nature, and where grouped together combine to express the action intended with singular felicity. For an honest, purpose-like pre-Raphaelite kind of art, there is probably nothing much better to be found anywhere."

The rail surrounding the great tope of Sanchi, in the kingdom of Bhopal, is a circular enclosure 140 feet in diameter, and consists of octagonal pillars 8 feet in height and two feet apart. They are joined together at the top by a rail 2 feet 3 inches deep, and between the pillars. This is, however, about the simple strail arrangement,



GATEWAY AND RAIL AT SANCHI.

and the ornamentation on the rails increases in other places, until the scrolls and discs and figures become so elaborate and profuse as to completely hide the pillars and bars from the sight, and to entirely change the character of the original design.

The great tope of Sanchi, of which we have spoken before, was probably constructed in Asoka's time. Each rail is shown, by the inscription on it, to be the gift of a different individual. The four gateways were then added to the rail, probably during the first century of the Christian Era. Dr. Fergusson thus describes them:—

"All these four gateways, or toranas, as they are properly called, were covered with the most elaborate sculptures both in front and in rear,—wherever in fact their surface was not hidden by being attached to the rail behind them. Generally the sculptures represent scenes from the life of Buddha. . . . In addition to these are scenes from the Jatakas or legends, narrating events or actions that took place during five hundred births through which Sakya Muni had passed before he became so purified as to reach perfect Buddhahood. One of these, the Wessantara or the "alms-giving" Jataka, occupies the whole of the lower beam of the northern gateway, and reproduces all the events of that wonderful tale, exactly as it is narrated in Ceylonese books at the present day. . . . Other sculptures represent sieges and fighting and consequent triumphs, but, so far as can be seen, for the acquisition of relics or subjects connected with the faith. Others pourtray men and women eating and drinking and making love. . . . The sculptures of these gateways form a perfect Picture Bible of Buddhism, as it existed in India in the first century of the Christian Era."

The date of the Sanchi rail is said to be three centuries after that of Buddha Gayâ and Bharhut rails; and the Amarâvatî rail is again three centuries posterior to the Sanchi rail. The date of the Amarâvatî rail is said to be the fourth or fifth century A.D.

Amarâvatî is situated on the southern bank of the Krishnâ river near its mouth, and was long the capital of the Andhra empire of Southern India. The Amarâvatî rail is loaded with ornament and sculptures. The great rail is 195 feet in diameter and the inner 165 feet, and between these two was the procession path. Externally the great rail was 14 feet and internally 12 feet, while the inner rail was solid and 6 feet high. The plinth of the great rail was ornamented by a frieze of animals and boys, and the pillars as usual were octagonal and ornamented with discs. The inside of the great rail was more richly ornamented than the outside, and the upper rail was one continuous bas-relief 600 feet in length. The inner rail was even more richly ornamented than the great rail, with figures most elaborately carved with scenes from the life of Buddha, or from legends.

Two woodcuts given in Dr. Fergusson's work, one from the great rail, and one from the inner rail, are interesting. The former represents a king seated on his throne and receiving a messenger, while his army in front defends the walls. Lower down the infantry, cavalry, and elephants sally forth in battle array, while one of the enemy sues for peace. The latter, *i.e.*, the woodcut from the inner rail, represents three objects of worship, viz., a Stûpa with its rails, a Chakra or wheel of religion, and a congregation worshipping a relic or sacred tree.

We now come to the important subject of CHAITYAS, *i.e.*, assembly halls or churches. The great distinguishing feature of these Buddhist churches is that they are not constructed but excavated. Twenty or thirty churches are known to exist, and all of them with one exception are excavated rocks. The external view of European churches and of Hindu temples forms their most distinguishing and noble feature; but of the Buddhist churches,—excavated in rocks,—there is no external view except the frontage, which is often ornamented.

Nine-tenths of the Buddhist churches which exist

belong to the Bombay Presidency, and this is explained by the fact that the Western Presidency is the great cave district of India, with rocks peculiarly fitted for excavation.

There is a cave in Behar which is believed to be the identical Satapanni cave of Râjagriha, in which, or in front of which, the First Council was held immediately after the death of Gautama to fix the canon. It is a natural cave slightly improved by art, and it was seen by Houen Tsang when he resided in Magadha.

There is an interesting group of caves sixteen miles north of Gayâ, of which the most interesting is the one known as Lomasa Rishi's cave. The form of the roof is a pointed arch, and the frontage is ornamented with simple sculpture. The interior is a hall 33 feet by 19 feet, beyond which there is a nearly circular apartment. All the caves of this group are said to have been excavated in the third century B.C.

There are five or six Chaitya caves in the Western Ghats, all of which are said to have been excavated before the Christian Era, and of which the cave at Bhaja is said to be the most ancient. As in the Buddhist rails, so in the Chaityas, we find architecture in stone slowly evolving itself out of wooden forms. The pillars of the Bhaja cave slope inwards at a considerable angle, as wooden posts would slope, to give strength to a structure; and the rafters of the cave are still of wood, many of which remain to this day. The date of this cave is said to be the third century B.C.

In the next group of caves, at Bedsor, considerable progress is manifested. The pillars are more upright, though still sloping inwards. The frontage is ornamented with rail decoration, the design being taken from actual rails as described before, but represented here merely as ornament. The date of the caves is said to be the first half of the second century.

The next cave is at Nassik. The pillars are so nearly

perpendicular that the inclination escapes detection, and the façade, though still exhibiting the rail decoration, shows a great advance in design. The date of the cave is said to be the last half of the second century.

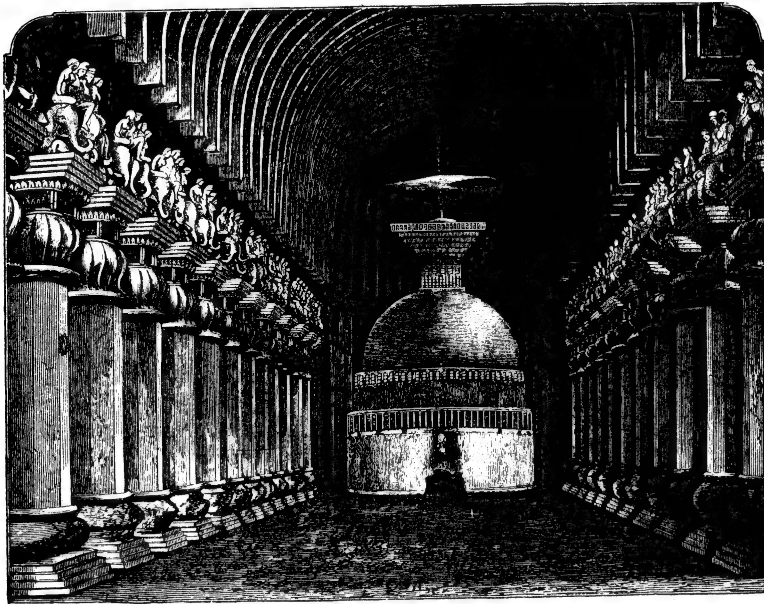
And when we come at last to the cave at Karli, on the road between Poona and Bombay, we find the architecture of this class in its state of perfection. The pillars are quite perpendicular, the screen is ornamented with sculpture, and the style of architecture both inside and in front is chaste and pure. The Chaitya is said to have been excavated in the first century after Christ, and it is the largest and the most perfect Chaitya yet discovered in India; and the style of architecture was never surpassed in succeeding centuries.

The following account will interest our readers :—

"The building, as will be seen from the annexed illustration, resembles to a great extent an early Christian church in its arrangements, consisting of a nave and side aisles, terminating in an apse or semi-dome, round which the aisle is carried. The general dimensions of the interior are 126 feet from the entrance to the back wall, by 45 feet 7 inches in width; the side aisles, however, are very much narrower than in Christian churches, the central one being 25 feet 7 inches, so that the others are only 10 feet wide, including the thickness of the pillars. . . . Fifteen on each side separate the vane from the aisles; each pillar has a tall base, an octagonal shaft, and richly ornamented capital, on which kneel two elephants, each bearing two figures, generally a man and a woman, but sometimes two females, all very much better executed than such ornaments usually are. The seven pillars behind the altar are plain octagonal piers without either base or capital. . . . Above this springs the roof, semicircular in general section, but somewhat stilted at the sides, so as to make its height greater than the semidiameter. . . . Immediately under the semi-dome of the

apse, and nearly where the altar stands in Christian churches, is placed the Dagoba. . . .

"Of the interior we can judge perfectly, and it certainly is as solemn and grand as any interior can well be. And the mode of lighting is the most perfect, one undivided volume of light coming through a single opening overhead at a favourable angle, and falling directly on the



KARLI CHAITYA.

altar or principal object in the building, leaving the rest in comparative obscurity. The effect is considerably heightened by the closely set thick columns that divide the three aisles from one another."—*Fergusson.*

There are four Chaityas at Ajanta, dating probably from the first century to the sixth century A.D. Statues of Buddha appear in the later Chaityas; and Buddhism,

as represented on the latest of these Chaityas, is very akin to the Hinduism of the sixth and subsequent centuries.

The Visvakarmâ cave of Ellora is a Chaitya belonging to the latter part of the Buddhist Period. The dimensions of the hall are 85 feet by 43 feet, and in the roof all the ribs and ornaments are cut in the rock, though still copied from wooden prototypes. In the façade we miss for the first time the horse-shoe opening which is the most marked feature in all previous examples. The façade of Ellora Chaitya looks like that of an ordinary two-storeyed house, with verandas richly sculptured.

The cave of Kenheri, on the Island of Salsette in Bombay harbour, is well known. It was excavated in the early part of the fifth century A.D. It is a copy of the great cave at Karli, but very inferior in style.

Lastly, we come to VIHÂRAS or monasteries. Foremost among the Buddhist Vihâras was the celebrated monastery of Nâlanda (south of Patna), visited by Houen Tsang in the seventh century. Successive kings had built here, and one of them surrounded all the Vihâras with a high wall which can still be traced, measuring 1600 feet by 400 feet. Outside this enclosure, again, Stûpas and towers were built, ten or twelve of which have been identified by General Cunningham.

The architecture of this great monastery, however, has not been properly restored, nor the arrangements made clear. There are some reasons to suspect that the superstructure was of wood, and if that be so, scarcely a trace of it can now be left.

Many of our readers who have visited Cuttack and Bhuvanesvara must also have seen the caves in the two hills, Udayagiri and Khandagiri, about twenty miles from Cuttack. There is an inscription on the Hathi Gumpha, or the Elephant Cave, to the effect that it was engraved by Aira, king of Kalinga, who subdued neighbouring kings.

The Ganesa Gumpha and the Râjrânî Gumpha are both said to have been excavated before the Christian Era, and a curious story is sculptured on them both. A man sleeps under a tree, and a woman, apparently his wife, introduces a lover. A fight ensues, and the victor carries away the female in his arms.

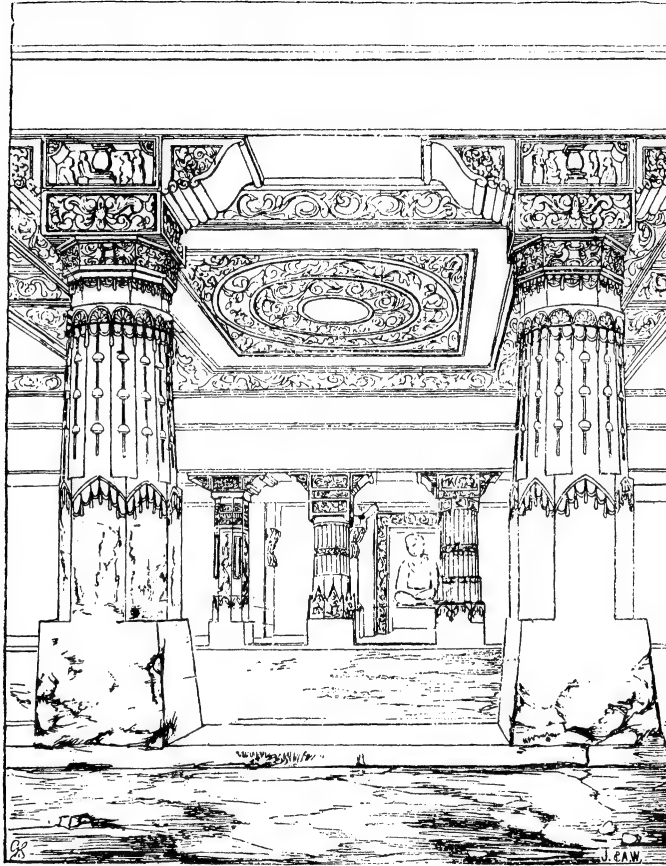
Older than these caves are smaller and simpler ones, among which the Tiger Cave in Udayagiri is the best known.

Turning now to Western India, the Nassik group contains three principal Vihâras known under the names of Nahapâna, Gautamîputra, and Yaduyasri. The first two are on the same plan, being halls 40 feet square, with sixteen small cells for monks on three sides, and a six-pillared veranda on the fourth side. An inscription in the Nahapâna Vihâra shows that it was excavated by the son-in-law of that chief, who, we have seen elsewhere, heads the list of Shah kings; and the date of this Vihâra is therefore about 100 A.D. The Gautamîputra Vihâra is supposed to be two or three centuries later. The Yaduyasri Vihâra has a hall 60 feet by 40 to 45 feet, and twenty-one cells for monks. It has also a sanctuary with two richly carved pillars and a colossal figure of Buddha with many attendants. The date of this Vihâra appears from an inscription to be the fifth century.

Perhaps the most interesting Vihâras in India are Nos. 16 and 17 of the Ajanta Vihâras. They are beautiful specimens of Buddhist monasteries, and possess a unique value, as they still contain fresco paintings with a degree of distinctness unequalled in any other Vihâra in India. Their date has been ascertained; they were excavated early in the fifth century, when the Guptas were the emperors of India.

Vihâra No. 16 measures 65 feet each way, and has twenty pillars. It has sixteen cells for monks on two sides, a great hall in the centre, a veranda in the front, and a sanctuary in the back. All the walls are

covered with frescoes representing scenes from the life of Buddha or from the legends of saints, and the roofs and pillars have arabesques and ornaments, and all this



AJANTA VIHARA NO. 16.

combines to produce a peculiar richness of effect. Judging from the representations of the frescoes which have been published, the painting was by no means contemptible. The figures are natural and elegant, the human

faces are pleasant and expressive, and convey the feelings which they are meant to convey, and the female figures are supple, light, and elegant, and have an air of softness and mild grace which mark them peculiarly Indian in style. The decorations are chaste and correct in style and singularly effective. It is to be hoped that a fairly complete representation of these curious paintings will yet be published for the elucidation of the art of painting in Ancient India; and such a work will be as valuable to the historian of Indian Art as the paintings recovered from Pompeii, and preserved in the Museum of Naples, are valuable to the historian of ancient European Art. Dr. Fergusson, however, apprehends that the means adopted to heighten the colour of the Ajanta paintings in order to copy them, and the "destructive tendencies of British tourists," have already spoilt these invaluable treasures.

Ajanta Vihâra No. 17 is similar in plan to No. 16, and is known as the Zodiac cave, because a figure of the Buddhist Chakra or wheel was mistaken for the signs of the Zodiac.

Eight or nine Vihâras exist at Bogh, a place about thirty miles west of Mandu. The great Vihâra here has a hall 96 feet square and a shâlâ or schoolroom attached to it 94 feet by 44 feet; while a veranda 220 feet in length runs in front of the hall and the shâlâ. 28 pillars beautify the hall, 16 pillars are in the schoolroom, while 20 pillars all in a row adorn the veranda. At one time the whole of the back wall of the gallery was adorned with a series of fresco paintings, equalling the Ajanta paintings in beauty. The principal subjects are processions on horseback and on elephants. Women exceed men in number, and dancing and love-making are prominently introduced.

At Ellora there are numerous Vihâras attached to the Visvakarmâ Chaitya, of which we have spoken before. The great Vihâra is 110 feet by 70 feet, and this as well

as the smaller Vihâras belong probably to the same century as the Chaitya.

There are three temples here which curiously illustrate the steps by which Buddhistic excavations gradually emerged in the Hindu. The first temple is Do-tal, a two-storeyed Buddhist Vihâra, Buddhistic in all its details. The second temple is Teen-tal, similar to the Do-tal, and still having Buddhist sculptures, but departing so far from simplicity of style as to justify Brâhmans in appropriating it, as they have done! The third is Das Avatar, still resembling the other two in architectural details, but entirely Hindu in sculptures. Later on, when Hinduism had completely triumphed over Buddhism, the Hindus of Southern India excavated in the spot, in the eighth or ninth century A.D., the famous temple of Kailâsa, which has made Ellora one of the great wonders of India. But of this and other Hindu edifices we will speak when we come to treat of the Puranic Period. We need only state here that the main distinction between Buddhist works and Hindu works is this; Buddhist Chaityas and Vihâras are caves excavated in rocks; while Hindu workers, even when they worked on existing hills and rocks, imitated structural buildings by clearing away the stone on all sides, and thus allowing the edifices carved to stand out in bold relief against the neighbouring rocks. Such is Kailâsa in Ellora.

We need not lengthen this chapter by giving an account of Gândhâra Vihâras. There can be no doubt that Greek influence greatly modified the style of architecture there, and many capitals and figures discovered in the Punjab are distinctly Greek in style. Nor is it possible to include here an account of Ceylonese architecture. There are numerous ruins of ancient topes and other edifices in that island, specially near Anurâdhapura, which continued to be the capital of Ceylon for ten centuries. Two of the largest known topes are in Ceylon, one at Abhayagiri, 1100 feet in circumference and 244

feet high; and the other at Jetavana, a few feet higher. The former was erected in 88 B.C., and the latter in 275 A.D.

From the brief account that has been given, our readers will perceive that both in architecture and in sculpture the highest excellence was attained and maintained in India before and immediately after the Christian Era. For the first attempts we must look to the rude caves in Orissa and Behar, with the façades now and then ornamented with rude sculpture of animals. Such, for instance, is the Tiger Cave of Orissa, and we must date this class of caves with the first spread of Buddhism in the fourth century B.C. A great advance was made in the third century B.C., and perhaps the noblest monuments, both in sculpture and in architecture, were constructed between the third century B.C. and the first century A.D. The richly sculptured rails of Bharhut and Sanchi belong to 200 B.C. and 100 A.D., and the finest Chaitya that has been yet discovered, that of Karli, belongs also to the first century after Christ. For the succeeding three or four centuries the art maintained its high position, but scarcely any progress was made, for it is doubtful if a tendency towards elaborate ornamentation is true progress. The Ajanta Vihâras and the Amarâvatî rails, constructed in the fourth and fifth century A.D., maintained the high position which art had reached in India three or four centuries earlier. Painting, too, of which we cannot discover the first beginnings, attained or maintained its high excellence in the fifth century A.D.

Hinduism, then, inherited from Buddhism the arts of architecture and sculpture. In the earlier Hindu temples of the sixth and seventh centuries, in Orissa and elsewhere, the sculpture is still as chaste and as meritorious as in the Buddhist rails. But it declined in later times.

In the later Hindu temples, the art has lost much of its higher æsthetic qualities, and "frequently resorts

to such expedients as giving dignity to the principal personages, by making them double the size of less important characters, and of distinguishing gods from men by giving them more heads and arms than mortal man can use or understand."

CHAPTER VIII.

CASTE.

FROM an account of the architecture and sculpture of the Hindus, we will now turn to their social manners and institutions in the Buddhist Age.

We have said before that Buddhism and Hinduism flowed in parallel streams in India during many centuries. Orthodox Hindus, specially of the higher castes, adhered to the Vedic form of religion and to Vedic sacrifices. On the other hand, the number of Buddhist monks and monasteries increased all over the land, and the common people drifted in large numbers to Buddhist ceremonials and the worship of relics and images. There was no open hostility between the two creeds, and except when some unwise and violent monarch signalised his reign by acts of persecution, there was no thought of a rupture between Hindus and Buddhists, who lived in India in friendliness for many centuries, each practising their own form of religious rites.

The numerous extracts we have made from the Buddhist Scriptures in the last Book throw much light on Buddhist life and manners. For a picture of Hindu life and manners during this age, we must go to the Institutes of Manu,—in many respects the most remarkable work of the age.

We have seen before that the laws of Manu in their earlier or Sûtra form were prevalent in India, and were much respected by the other Sûtrakâras in the Rationalistic Age. Those earlier laws, however, have been lost

to us, and the Institutes of Manu which we have now, were completely recast and put in verse in the Buddhist Age. They reflect, therefore, the Hindu manners and customs of the Buddhist Age, and thus form an intermediate link between the earlier Sûtra works of the Rationalistic Age and the later Dharma Sâstras of the Puranic Age.

The earlier Sûtras connect themselves with some particular Vedic school or other. Manu does not connect himself with any such school or particular community, but professes to lay down rules for all Aryan Hindus. Herein Manu differs from the Sûtras of the Rationalistic Age.

On the other hand, Manu differs still more widely from the later Dharma Sâstras of the Purânic Age. These Dharma Sûtras proclaim Puranic or Modern Hinduism, and believe in the Hindu Trinity and in the worship of images. Manu does not recognise these modern innovations. He still stands up for Vedic Hinduism and Vedic sacrifices, ignores the later Hindu Trinity, and condemns the worship of images. Thus the position of Manu is singular and unique, and he represents the transition state through which the Hindus passed during the Buddhist Age,—before they completely adopted modern or Puranic Hinduism. Herein consists the importance of Manu's Institutes, and the date assigned to the Institutes in their present shape, by Dr. Bühler and other scholars, is the first or second century before or after Christ.

We shall obtain from this valuable work much valuable information about the social manners and laws and rules of administration of the Hindus during the Buddhist Age. In the present chapter our remarks will be confined to the caste-system.

We have seen before, that the ancient Sûtrakâras had conceived that the different castes sprang from the union of men and women of different original castes; and Manu unfortunately adopts and hands down the childish myth.

The following is a list of Manu's mixed castes, or, if we may so call it, Manu's theory of the Origin of the Human

Species! Sons begotten by the first three castes on wives of the next lower castes were considered similar to their fathers, and did not form new castes.

Father.	*Mother.*	*Castes formed.*
Brâhman	Vaisya	Ambashtha
Do.	Sûdra	Nishâda
Kshatriya	Do.	Ugra
Do.	Brâhman	Sûta
Vaisya	Do.	Vaideha
Vaisya	Kshatriya	Mâgadha
Sûdra	Vaisya	Âyogava
Do.	Kshatriya	Kshattri
Do.	Brâhman	Chandâla
Brâhman	Ugra	Avrita
Do.	Ambashtha	Abhira
Do.	Ayogava	Dhigvana
Nishâda	Sûdra	Pukkasa
Sûdra	Nishâda	Kukkutaka
Kshattri	Ugra	Svapâka
Vaidehaka	Ambashtha	Vena
First three castes	by wives of their same caste, but not performing sacred rites	Vrâtyas.
From Brâhman Vrâtyas	. . . .	Bhrijjakantaka Avantya Vâtadhâna Pushpadha Saikha
From Kshatriya Vrâtyas	. . . .	Jhalla Malla Lichchivi Nata Karana Khasa Dravida
From Vaisya Vrâtyas	. . . .	Sudhanvan Achârya Kârusha Vijanman Maitra Sâtvata

Father.	*Mother.*	*Castes formed.*
Dasyu	Ayogava	Sairindhra
Vaideha	Do.	Maitreyaka
Nishâda	Do.	Mârgava or Dâsa or Kaivarta
Do.	Vaideha	Kârâvara
Vaidehika	Kârâvara	Andhra
Do.	Nishâda	Meda
Chandâla	Vaideha	Pândusopâka
Nishâda	Do.	Ahindika
Chandâla	Pukkasa	Sopâka
Chandâla	Nishâda	Antyâvasâyin.

As if this list of non-Aryan races was not sufficiently long, the great legislator tries to include by a sweeping rule all the known races of the earth! The Paundrakas (North Bengal men), the Udras (Oriyas), the Dravidas (Southern Indians), the Kambojas (Kabulis), the Yavanas (Bactrian Greeks), the Sakas (Turanian invaders), the Pâradas, the Pahlavas (Persians), the Chînas (Chinese), the Kirâtas (hill men), and the Daradas and Khasas are said to have been Kshatriyas before, but to have "gradually sunk in this world to the condition of Sûdras," through omission of the sacred rites, and for "not consulting Brâhmans" (X, 43 and 44).

On carefully looking over the foregoing list of mixed castes, we find that they include all the aboriginal and foreign races that were known to Manu, but they do not include the profession—castes of the modern day. We find no mention of Kâyasthas and Vaidyas and Goldsmiths and Blacksmiths and Vaniks, and Potters and Weavers, and other artisans who form castes in modern times. How have these castes sprung? When did they spring into existence? And shall we believe in the myth of a further permutation and combination among the men and women of Manu's mixed castes in order to account for the existence of the scores of new castes in the modern day?

Again, when we survey the modern Hindu castes, we

do not in many provinces of India find any trace of the ancient Vaisya caste, which formed the mass of the nation in the days of Manu. Where are those Vaisyas gone? When and how did they disappear from most provinces of India? And shall we, consistently with the myth spoken of before, believe that the Vaisyas were so apt to marry women of other castes, and so little fond of their own women, that they continually formed alliances with other castes, until they simply married themselves out of their caste-existence?

The student of Indian history is spared the humiliation of accepting such nursery tales! Common sense will suggest to him that the Vaisyas of Manu have now been disunited into new modern castes according to the professions they follow. Manu knew of goldsmiths and blacksmiths and physicians, and speaks of them, but does not reckon them as separate castes. *They were not castes but professions in Manu's time, and still belonged to the common undivided Vaisya caste.* Scribes and physicians and artisans were still entitled in Manu's time to the privileges of the ancient Aryans, to acquire religious knowledge, to perform religious rites, and to wear the sacrificial thread. However much, then, we may deplore the results of the caste-system, it is important to remember that even in the centuries immediately before and immediately after the Christian Era, the system had not reached its worst stage. Sacred learning had not yet become the monopoly of priests, and honest citizens, who gained a livelihood as scribes, physicians, goldsmiths, blacksmiths, weavers, potters, &c., were still Vaisyas, still united as one caste, and still entitled to all the literary and religious heritage of Aryans.

We will illustrate these remarks by a few facts taken from the modern state of Bengal. Bengal proper, *i.e.*, the country in which the Bengali is the spoken tongue (comprising the Presidency, Burdwan, Rajshahi, Dacca, and Chittagong fiscal divisions), has a population of about

35½ millions according to the census of 1881. Roughly speaking, 18 millions are Mahommedans, 17 millions are Hindus (including aborigines), and the remaining half-million is made up of Buddhists, Christians, &c.

The castes which make up the 17 million Hindus are numerous; and those which number 200,000 souls or more are shown in the following list:—

1. Kaivarta	2,006 thousands.		17. Baniya	318 thousands.
2. Chandâla	1,564 ”		18. Jugi	306 ”
3. Koch	1,215 ”		19. Kamar	286 ”
4. Brâhman	1,077 ”		20. Kumar	252 ”
5. Kâyastha	1,056 ”		21. Bauri	252 ”
6. Bagdi	720 ”		22. Teor	229 ”
7. Gowala	613 ”		23. Dhobi	227 ”
8. Sadgop	547 ”			
9. Napit	447 ”			13,760 ”
10. Vaishnav	439 ”			
11. Chamar	410 ”		Other castes, numbering less than 200,000 souls	3,494 ”
12. Sunri	383 ”			
13. Teli	383 ”			
14. Jeleya	375 ”			
15. Tanti	330 ”		Total Hindu population	17,254 ”
16. Pod	325 ”			

The two most numerous castes, the Kaivarta and the Chandâla, find mention in Manu's list of mixed castes. The Kaivartas of Bengal form a solid body of two million people, making nearly one-eighth of the entire Hindu population of Bengal. They have much the same physical features, follow the same pursuits of fishing and agriculture, and possess the same mental characteristics of patience and industry, docility and dulness. Three-fourths of them inhabit the south-western corner of Bengal, *i.e.*, the districts of Midnapur, Hooghly, and Howrah, 24-Pergunnahs, Nuddea, and Murshedabad. Is there any one among our readers who is so simple as to believe with Manu that this solid and numerous race of men, possessing the same features and characteristics, and mostly inhabiting one definite part of Bengal, is

descended from children borne by Âyogava women who deserted their own husbands and yielded themselves—by the hundred thousand—to the embraces of Nishâdas! Where are the traditions of this strange and universal elopement, this rape of the Âyogava women by Nishâdas, compared to which the rape of the Sabine women was but child's play? Common sense brushes aside such nursery tales, and recognises in the millions of hardworking and simple Kaivartas, one of those aboriginal races who inhabited Bengal before the Aryans came to the land, and who submitted themselves to the civilisation, the language, and the religion of the conquering Hindus, and learnt from them to till the land where they had previously lived by fishing and hunting.

Let us next turn to the Chandâlas of Bengal. They too form a solid body of people numbering a million and a half, and inhabiting mostly the south-eastern districts of Bengal, Backergunj, Faridpur and Dacca, Jessore and Khulna. They are patient and hard-working, and unrivalled in boating and fishing; and landlords like to have them as tenants for bringing waste and marshy lands under cultivation.* But nevertheless the Chandâlas are a soft, timid, and submissive race, and bear without a complaint many wrongs from the sturdier Mussulmans of East Bengal. There is a marked family likeness, both physical and mental, among the Chandâlas, which shows them to be one distinct race.

And how was this race formed? Manu has it that they are the issues of Brâhman women who yielded themselves to the embraces of Sûdras. As the number of Brâhmans

* The present writer has often witnessed the curious way in which the Chandâlas of some parts of Backergunj District turn *beels* or marshes into solid cultivable lands. They either connect the *beels* with tidal rivers by artificial canals, so as to induce a deposit of silt on the bed of the marshes day by day and year by year; or they collect a kind of weed growing in the marshes, and lay them stratum upon stratum, until the lowest stratum reaches the bottom. The present writer has seen houses and trees on lands thus *manufactured.*

in South-Eastern Bengal was never very large in olden times, and does not even in the present day come to even a quarter of a million in the five districts named above, it is difficult to account for the presence of a million Chandâlas in those districts on Manu's theory. Shall we suppose that fair-skinned Brâhman Desdemonas habitually bestowed their hands on swarthy Sûdra swains? Shall we suppose that beauteous but frail Brâhman girls were seduced from their parents—by the hundred thousand—by gay Sûdra Lotharios intent on creating a new caste? And shall we further suppose that the children begotten of such unions thrived and multiplied in marshes and fishing villages, amidst toil and privations,—more than true-born Brâhman children basking in the sunshine of royal favour and priestly privileges? We have only to state such suppositions to show their utter absurdity; and with these suppositions, Manu's theory of mixed castes is brushed aside to the region of myths and nursery tales! Common sense will tell every reader who knows anything of the Chandâlas of Bengal that they were the primeval dwellers of South-Eastern Bengal, and lived by fishing in its numerous creeks and channels, and they naturally adopted the religion, the language, and the civilisation of the Hindus when the Aryans came and colonised Bengal.

We have shown that the Kaivartas and the Chandâlas were distinct primeval races, and that they formed Hindu castes when they were Hinduised by the conquering Aryans. There are other similar race-castes in Bengal. The reader will find in the list given above the names of the Koch, the Bagdi, the Pod, the Bauri, and the Teor, which are all race-castes. They formed distinct aboriginal races before the Hindus came to Bengal; and from century to century, in the long-forgotten ages, they submitted to the conquering Hindus, adopted their language and religion and mode of tillage, and formed low castes in the Hindu confederation of castes. The names of

many of these Bengal races were unknown to Manu; those which he knew, he tried to account for by his own theory, in the absence of all historical and statistical facts.

Let us now turn from *race-castes* to *profession-castes.* In the list given above, the reader will find mention of the Kâyastha or scribe, the Goala or cowherd, the Napit or barber, the Teli or oil-manufacturer, the Jeleya or fisherman, the Tanti or weaver, the Baniya or trader, the Kamar or blacksmith, the Kumar or potter, the Dhobi or washerman, &c. It is remarkable that while some of the race-castes find mention in Manu's list of mixed castes, *not one of the profession-castes finds mention in that list.* Were the professions unknown in Manu's time? Were there no scribes and traders, no blacksmiths and potters, no barbers and washermen in Manu's time? The supposition is absurd, for Manu lived at a time of high civilisation in India, and speaks of those professions in his Code. But he does not mention them in his list of mixed castes, and does not speak of them as castes. And this demonstrates with mathematical certainty that the different professions in Manu's time were yet professions only, and had not been formed into distinct and inviolable castes. The Vaisyas were still a united body, and so were the Sûdras, although they followed different professions and trades.

We now know the true origin of the profession-castes which were unknown to Manu, and have been formed since. We know also the origin of the race-castes which were formed before Manu's time, and were known to Manu. And lastly, we know how Manu erred in trying to account for these race-castes. Manu's mistake was unavoidable. He saw distinct castes like the Kaivartas and the Chandâlas, and did not know their historic origin. The religious traditions of his time traced all mankind from the four parent castes, and he was compelled therefore to stretch the old theory in order to account for

the new castes of his time. All this is intelligible. What is not intelligible is, that the old theory should still find acceptance among some Hindus in these days of statistics and historical inquiry. But the very sanctity of the Institutes disarms historical inquiry, repels careful examination, silences criticism. It is for this reason that the ancient theory of mixed castes has been upheld and accepted and venerated for centuries in the face of all facts and all probabilities. Never questioned, never criticised, never tested by facts, the theory has floated in the imagination and belief of orthodox Hindus, an object of admiration and blind faith. And yet this theory, so symmetrical and comprehensive, so perfect and complete, vanishes like a beauteous soap-bubble into nothingness, the moment it is touched by the finger of criticism.

CHAPTER IX.

SOCIAL LIFE.

MANU'S account of domestic rites is based on the accounts of the old Sûtrakâras, and the same rites are described. The *Jâtakarman* must be performed immediately after the birth of a child, and before the navel-string is cut. On the tenth or twelfth day after birth, or on a lucky day, in a lucky muhûrta, under an auspicious constellation, the *Nâmadheya* rite should be performed, and the child should be named. In the fourth month, the *Nishkramana* should be done, and the child taken out of the house, and in the sixth month the child should have his *Annaprâsana* or first meal of rice. The *Upanayana* or initiation should be performed in the eighth year for a Brâhman, in the eleventh for a Kshatriya, and in the twelfth for a Vaisya; and then the boy, invested with the holy thread, is to be made over to his instructor.

The rules of the student's life are the same as those laid down in the Dharma Sûtras. The student should have a girdle, a staff, and one or two garments; he should be obedient and respectful to his teacher; he should beg from door to door every day, and bring the proceeds to his teacher's house; and he should live there and serve him menially, while receiving instruction from day to day and from year to year. The ceremony of *Kesanta* or shaving was performed for a Brâhman in the sixteenth year, for a Kshatriya in the twenty-second, and for a Vaisya two years later.

The time for learning the three Vedas is thirty-six years,

or eighteen years, or even nine years, or until the student has perfectly learnt them. We are not told of any fourth Veda here (III, 1), nor is any time allotted for learning the Atharvan. And having concluded his studies and bathed, the student became a Snâtaka, returned home, married, and settled down as a householder. The sacred fire was to be lighted at the wedding; and the householder was enjoined to perform his domestic ceremonies and the five great sacrifices all through his life. These great sacrifices were—(1) teaching and studying, metaphorically called a sacrifice to the Supreme God (Brahman); (2) offerings of water to the departed fathers; (3) burnt offerings to the minor gods; (4) offerings to spirits; and (5) an ever hospitable reception of guests, described as a sacrifice to men (III, 67 and 70). The last duty was a most important one, and Hindu sages are never tired of impressing on pious Hindus this great duty to their fellow-men.

Apart from the daily offering to departed ancestors, there was the monthly Pinda-Pitriyajna (III, 122), and Pindas or cakes were prepared on this occasion and were offered to the manes. Brâhmans were fed at the daily offerings, as well as at the monthly offerings, and Manu is as bitter as the Sûtrakâras, against feeding ignorant Brâhmans.

"As a husbandman reaps no harvest when he has sown the seed in barren soil, even so the giver of sacrificial food gains no reward if he presented it to a man unacquainted with the Richas" (III, 142).

"As many mouthfuls as an ignorant man swallows at a sacrifice to the gods or to the manes, so many red hot spikes, spears, and iron balls must the giver of the repast swallow after death" (III, 133).

Elsewhere we are warned against offering even water "to a Brâhman who acts like a cat, or like a heron." And it would sound irreverent to modern Hindus if we quoted the words in which Manu indignantly stigmatised

the cat-like and heron-like Brâhmans of his day! (IV, 192, 195, 196).

With regard to sacrifices, we are told that a Brâhman should always offer the Agnihorta morning and evening; that he should perform the Darsa and Paurnamâsa Ishtis at the new and full moon; that he should do the Châturmâsya sacrifices at the end of the three seasons; that he should perform animal sacrifices at the solstices, and a soma sacrifice at the end of the year. When the new grain was reaped he should perform an Âgrayana Ishti and an animal sacrifice (IV, 25–27). The reader is referred to the last Book for an account of these and similar rites as described in the older Sûtra works.

All these injunctions to continue the daily, monthly, and periodical rites prescribed in the ancient Sûtras, show that Manu sought to perpetuate the old Vedic rites which were fast falling into disuse. Such expressions as "A Brâhman who keeps sacred fires" (IV, 27) would indicate that to keep such fires was becoming rather the exception than the rule; and bitter expressions against heretics would indicate that the influence of the Buddhists was telling on the ancient forms and rites. A householder is forbidden to honour, even by greeting, heretics and logicians arguing against the Veda (IV, 30); he is directed to avoid atheism and cavilling at the Veda (IV, 163); and women who have joined a heretical sect are classed with lewd women, with drunken women, with murderesses of their husbands, and with women who have caused abortion (V, 90).

We shall probably never know exactly in what way and by what degrees the Vedic rites and forms of the Epic and Rationalistic Periods were changed into the forms of modern Hinduism. But we may be quite certain that at the very time at which the Institutes of Manu were compiled, the ancient domestic sacrifices (Grihya) at the householder's hearth, and the more pompous sacrifices (Srauta) performed by priests, were falling in disuse,

and were being supplanted by those very temple priests whom Manu contemptuously classes with sellers of meat and wine, with shopkeepers and usurers (III, 152, 180). The Institutes are a vain attempt to perpetuate the past against the innovations of the present, and the historian has little difficulty in noting in what direction the tide was turning.

The forms of marriage recounted by Manu are the same that we find in the Dharma Sûtras. He enumerates the *Brâhma*, the *Daiva*, the *Ârsha*, the *Prâjâpatya*, the *Âsura*, the *Gândharva*, the *Râkshasa*, and the *Paisâcha* forms; but his sense of decorum rebels against some of the forms; "the Paisâcha (seduction) and the Âsura (sale) must never be used" (III, 25). And again we are emphatically told that "No father who knows the law must take even the smallest gratuity for his daughter; for a man who, through avarice, takes a gratuity, is a seller of his offspring" (III, 54). As if to leave no doubt whatever on the subject, we are told that even a Sûdra should not take a nuptial fee; and that such a transaction has never been heard of (IX, 98 and 100). But nevertheless a nuptial fee was probably received among the low people in ancient times, as it is done to this day in India, and Manu in one place incautiously lays down a rule, that if one damsel has been shown and another is given to a bridegroom, he may marry both for the same price (VIII, 204).

Similarly Manu is indignant against widow-marriage, which ancient custom was becoming unpalatable to the later Hindus; but he unguardedly informs us of the fact, —and the fact is more valuable to the historian than Manu's opinions,—that widow-marriage still prevailed in his time, although it was not approved by the orthodox. We are told in (V, 157) that a widow must never even mention the name of another man after her husband has died, and again that a second husband is nowhere prescribed for virtuous women (V, 162). But nevertheless

we are told of husbands of remarried women (III, 166), and of sons of remarried widows (III, 155 and 181; IX, 169, 175 and 176). Virgin widows were expressly permitted to remarry. Such a widow "is worthy to perform with her second husband the nuptial ceremony" (IX, 176).

Intermarriage, as we have already seen before, was freely allowed, provided that a man of a lower caste did not marry a woman of a higher caste.

Marriage between relations was strictly prohibited in Manu's time. "A damsel who is neither a Sapinda on the mother's side, nor belongs to the same family on the father's side, is recommended to twice-born men for wedlock and conjugal union" (III, 5).

With regard to the age at which girls were married, we should infer from Manu's rules that though girls were sometimes married before they reached their puberty, this was by no means obligatory, and they often married later. We are told that a man of thirty should marry a girl of twelve, and that a younger man should marry girls still younger (X, 94). We are again told that to a distinguished handsome suitor a father should give away his daughter "though she have not attained the proper age." This is laid down as an exception, and the usual rule, therefore, we should infer, was to give away girls at "the proper age." And we are expressly told that a girl when marriageable should wait for three years and then give herself away (IX, 90), and that her father should rather keep her unmarried the whole of her life than give her away to a bridegroom who is not suitable (IX, 89).

The ancient custom of raising issue on a brother's widow seems to have fallen into disuse. Manu, in his anxiety to adhere to ancient rule, and also to proclaim a purer custom, seems to flatly contradict himself. In IX, 59 and 60, he says that on failure of issue by her husband, a wife or widow who has been authorised may obtain the desired offspring by a brother-in-law, or by

some other Sapinda of the husband. But shortly after he emphatically declares that a widow must never be appointed to raise issue in this way; that in the sacred texts the appointment of widows is nowhere mentioned; that the practice is reprehended by the learned as fit for cattle (IX, 64 to 68). This is pretty strong language, and shows how utterly the somewhat primitive custom was condemned at the time of Manu.

It will be seen, from what has been stated above, that the Institutes of Manu are somewhat composite in their character. The author tries to adhere to ancient law, often quotes the current sayings and verses of his time,—many of which have been found in the Mahâbhârata,—and at the same time he is anxious to proclaim a pure law for the Aryans. Actuated by such different influences, Manu is sometimes uncertain in the rules he lays down; but the general scope and object of his law cannot be mistaken by the candid reader. And if such a reader carefully peruses all the chapters and verses in the Code bearing on the position of women, he will, in spite of some objectionable passages, certainly form a high idea of the status of women, and of the Hindu civilisation and manners of Manu's time.

Women were regarded as dependent on their male relations;—this Manu emphatically declares. But nevertheless women were honoured in their families, respected by their relations, and held in esteem by the society in which they lived. And this will appear not only from the rules of Manu, but from the general tone of all Sanscrit literature.

"The Âchârya (teacher) is ten times more venerable than the Upâdyâya (sub-teacher), the father a hundred times more than the teacher, but the mother a thousand times more than the father (II, 145).

"Women must be honoured and adorned by their fathers, brothers, husbands, and brothers-in-law, who desire their own welfare.

"Where women are honoured, there the gods are pleased; but where they are not honoured, no sacred rite yields reward.

"Where female relations live in grief, the family soon wholly perishes; but that family where they are not unhappy, ever prospers" (III, 55–57).

On the other hand, we have as clear an enunciation of women's duties.

"In childhood a female must be subject to her father; in youth to her husband; when her lord is dead, to her sons; a woman must never be independent.

"She must not seek to separate herself from her father, husband, or sons. By leaving them she would make both her own and her husband's family contemptible.

"She must always be cheerful, clever in the management of her household affairs, careful in cleaning her utensils, and economical in expenditure.

"Him to whom her father may give her, or her brother, with her father's permission, she shall obey as long as she lives, and when he is dead, she must not insult his memory.

"Though destitute of virtue, or seeking pleasure, or devoid of good qualities, yet a husband must be constantly worshipped as a god by a faithful wife.

"No sacrifice, no vow, no fast, must be performed by women apart from their husbands; if a wife obeys her husband, she will for that reason alone be exalted in heaven" (V, 148–151, and 154, 155).

CHAPTER X.

ADMINISTRATION.

MANU gives us a very interesting picture of the daily duties and the private life of kings.

To protect his subjects, to deal impartial justice, and to punish the wrong-doer were the essential duties of a king, and the very existence of society depended on the performance of these duties (VII, 2, 16–35). Drinking, dice, women, and hunting were the most pernicious faults of kings (VII, 50).

The king rose in the last watch of the night, and having performed personal purification, and offered oblations to the fire, he entered the hall of audience in the morning. There he gratified all subjects who came to see him, and having dismissed them, he took counsel with his ministers in a lonely place, unobserved by the public (VII, 145–147). When the consultation was over, the king took his customary exercise, bathed, and entered the inner apartments in order to take his meals. The food was prepared by faithful servants hallowed by sacred texts that destroyed poison, and well tried females served him with fans, water, and perfumes. The carefulness which is enjoined in the matter of food, is enjoined also in respect of the king's carriages, bed, seat, bath, toilet, and ornaments, and shows that the risk of death by poison or treachery was guarded against in the ordinary arrangements in a king's household (VII, 216–220).

After taking his meals, the king passed some time with his wives in the inner apartments; but in the afternoon

he issued again in his robes of state and inspected his fighting men, his chariots, animals, weapons, and accoutrements. And then, having performed his twilight devotions, he gave audience to his secret spies, and heard secret reports collected for his information. After this he entered his inner apartments again and had his supper. Then, after refreshing himself by the sound of music, he retired to rest (VII, 221–225).

The king was, of course, assisted in his work of administration by his ministers,—seven or eight ministers according to Manu,—versed in sciences, skilled in the use of weapons, and descended from noble and well-tried families. Such ministers advised the king in matters of peace and war, revenue, and religious gifts. The king also employed suitable persons for the collection of revenue, and in mines, manufactories, and storehouses; and he employed an ambassador "who understands hints, and the expression of the face and gestures," for carrying on negotiations (VII, 54–63).

For the protection of villages and towns separate officers were appointed. The king appointed a lord over each village, lords of ten villages, lords of twenty villages, lords of a hundred villages, and lords of a thousand villages, and it was their duty to check crime and protect the villagers. Similarly each town had its superintendent of all affairs, who personally inspected the work of all officials, and got secret information about their behaviour. "For the servants of the king who are appointed to protect the people generally become knaves who seize the property of others; let him protect his subjects against such men" (VII, 115–123). This is a bitter invective against the rapacity of officers; but few administrative officers of the present day will consider the invective too strong for the modern protectors of the people,—the police officers,—each entrusted with the charge of an extensive Thana with a population of fifty to a hundred thousand or more!

The income of the state from the royal demesnes was supplemented by taxes. Manu fixes the taxes at "a fiftieth part of the increments on cattle and gold," which corresponds to an income-tax of two per cent., and "the eighth, sixth, or twelfth part of the crops," which represents a land revenue much lower than modern assessments. The king might also take a sixth part of trees, meat, butter, earthen vessels, stoneware, &c., and might exact a day's service in each month from artisans, mechanics, and Sûdras living by manual labour. But he should on no account tax Srotriyas. And lastly, kings are warned against excessive taxation. "Let him not cut up his own root nor the root of others by excessive greed. For by cutting up his own root or theirs, he makes himself or them wretched" (VII, 130–139).

All these and other rules about administration and taxation show that a fairly advanced system of government prevailed in India between fifteen hundred and two thousand years ago. And the testimony of Chinese and Greek writers who lived in the country proves that the ideas were not merely worked out by theorists and bookmakers, but were carried into practice by kings and their responsible officials. Megasthenes speaks in the highest terms of the government of Chandragupta; and Fa Hian and Houen Tsang, who lived many years in India, and visited many kingdoms, also speak highly of Hindu administration, and do not cite one single instance of a people being ground down by taxes or harassed by the arbitrary and oppressive acts of kings, or ruined by internecine wars. On the contrary, the picture which they present to us is that of a happy and prosperous group of nations, loyal and well-disposed to their kings, enjoying the fruits of a benign and mild and civilised administration. Agriculture flourished everywhere; the arts were cultivated; learning was respected and cultivated with great assiduity by Hindus and Buddhists alike; religion was taught and preached from temples and monasteries without let or

hindrance; and the people were left to their own pursuits without oppressive interference. These results are a truer indication of a beneficent administration than any rules, however just and humane, which we may find recorded in law-books.

Fortresses were highly esteemed for the purposes of defence, and Manu declares that "one bowman placed on a rampart is a match in battle for one hundred foes" (VII, 74). He directs that a king should always build for his safety a fortress, protected by a desert, or water, or trees, or by earthworks, or by armed men; but he gives his preference to hill forts, which are the strongest of all forts. And such forts should be well supplied with weapons, money, grain, and beasts of burden; with Brâhmans, artisans, engines, fodder, and with water (VII, 70, 71, 75). The value of such hill forts has repeatedly been proved in the history of modern Indian warfare, and the enemy has often wasted a campaign in a futile attack against a single fort, sufficiently provided with provisions and water, with natural defences and brave men.

The laws of war have always been honourable and humane among the Hindus. Chariots and horses and elephants, grain, cattle, and women conquered in battle are the prize of the conqueror; but he is strictly enjoined not to strike the flying foe, nor one who joins his hands in supplication or sits down and says, "I am thine." Similarly, no violence should be used against disarmed or wounded men, or men who were merely looking on without joining in the fight (VII, 91, 92, 93, 96). These rules have been scrupulously observed from the ancient times to the days of modern Rajput warfare, and foreigners have noted peaceful villagers following their daily occupations, and husbandmen ploughing their fields without concern, while hostile armies were contending within sight for the destinies of kingdoms and nations.

A great many rules have been laid down about the policy of kings and the conduct of war, some of which

are interesting. The king was to consider his immediate neighbour his foe and the next king beyond to be his friend, a rule which finds apt illustration in the Continent of Europe in the present day,—in the policies of France, Germany, and Russia (VII, 158). The tall men of the Doab formed then, as now, the best soldiers in India, and kings were recommended to engage such men, the Matsyas, the Panchâlas, and the men of Kurukshetra and Surasena as soldiers, and to keep them in the van of the battle (VII, 193). The commencement or end of the cold season was said to be the proper season for marching troops, but movements should be commenced at any time according to the exigencies of the war (VII, 182, 183). We get curious glimpses here and there into the rules which were observed in arranging troops in a march or a battle. In a march the troops were to be arranged like a staff (oblong), or like a waggon (wedge), or like a boar (rhombus), or like a makara (two triangles with the apices joined), or like a pin (long line), or like a Garuda (rhomboid with extended wings). In a battle a small number of soldiers might fight in close order, or the army might be extended in loose ranks; a small number could fight in the needle array, or a large number in the thunderbolt array (VII, 187, 191). When the enemy is shut up in a town or fort, the assailant should encamp outside and spoil the enemy's grass, food, fuel, and water; destroy his tanks, ramparts, and ditches; assail him unawares at night, or instigate rebellion among his subjects and followers (VII, 195–197).

And when a king has conquered his enemy he is directed to place a relation of the vanquished ruler on the throne, after consulting the wishes of the conquered people, and to respect the local customs and laws of the vanquished (VII, 202, 203). These are just and humane rules, worthy of Hindu conquerors.

CHAPTER XI.

LAWS.

THE Institutes of Manu are divided into twelve books, comprising 2685 couplets. The two longest books (VIII and IX), comprising 756 couplets, are devoted to civil and criminal law. Much that we find in these laws is a repetition or a modification of the laws laid down by the ancient Sûtrakâras.

The king was the fountain of justice in Ancient India, and Manu directs that the king should, with learned Brâhmans and experienced councillors, enter the Court of Justice and perform judicial work. Should, however, the king not do the work himself, he should appoint learned Brâhmans to perform it with the help of three assessors. "Where three Brâhmans versed in the Vedas and the learned judge appointed by the king sit down, they call that the Court of Brahmâ" (VIII, 1, 2, 9, 10, 11).

The injunctions to speak the truth are as solemn and strict as those provided in any age or country.

"Either the court must not be entered, or the truth must be spoken; a man who either says nothing (*i.e.*, conceals facts) or speaks falsely becomes sinful" (VIII, 13).

"The witnesses being assembled in the court in the presence of the plaintiff and of the defendant, let the judge examine them, kindly exhorting them in the following manner:—

"'What ye know to have been mutually transacted in this matter between the two men before us, declare all that in accordance with the truth; for ye are witnesses in this cause.

"'A witness who speaks the truth in his evidence gains after death the most excellent regions of bliss, and here below unsurpassable fame; such testimony is revered by Brahman himself.

"'He who gives false evidence is firmly bound by Varuna's fetters, helpless, during one hundred existences. Let men give true evidence.

"'By truthfulness a witness is purified, through truthfulness his merit grows; truth must therefore be spoken by witnesses of all castes.

"'The soul itself is the witness of the soul; the soul is the refuge of the soul; despise not thy own soul, the supreme witness of men.

"'The wicked indeed say in their hearts, Nobody sees us. But the gods distinctly see them, and the male within their own breasts.

"'The sky, the earth, the waters, the heart, the moon, the sun, the fire, Yama and the wind, the night, the two twilights, and justice know the conduct of all corporal beings'" (VIII, 79–86).

Still more solemn are the injunctions given further on :—

"Naked and shorn, tormented with hunger and thirst and deprived of sight, shall the man who gives false evidence go with a potsherd to beg food at the door of his enemy.

"Headlong, in utter darkness, shall the sinful man tumble into hell, who, being interrogated in a judicial inquiry, answers one question falsely" (VIII, 93, 94).

And it is provided in VIII, 123, that the king should banish all witnesses who give false evidence.

A somewhat long list is given of persons who were not competent witnesses, and persons who were exempted from being witnesses. Interested persons, friends and enemies of parties, persons previously convicted of perjury, and men tainted with sin were not competent as witnesses; while a king, a Srotriya, and a student of the Veda, as well as mechanics and actors, were exempted. But it is quite clear that these rules were not meant to be

strictly applied, and we are told further on that in cases of violence, theft, adultery, defamation, and assault, *i.e.*, in criminal cases, the rule about the competency of witnesses should not be strictly applied (VIII, 64, 65, 72).

Manu divides the whole body of substantive law under 18 heads, viz., (1) Debts, (2) Deposits, (3) Sale without ownership, (4) Partnership, (5) Resumption of gifts, (6) Non-payment of wages, (7) Non-performance of agreements, (8) Rescission of sale and purchase, (9) Disputes between masters and servants, (10) Disputes about boundaries, (11) Assault, (12) Defamation, (13) Theft, (14) Robbery and violence, (15) Adultery, (16) Duties of husband and wife, (17) Inheritance, and (18) Gambling and betting. It will be seen that heads (11) to (15) and the last head relate to criminal law, and the other heads relate to civil cases. We will, however, follow the order in which Manu has arranged the subjects, and our remarks under each head will be necessarily exceedingly brief.

(1) DEBTS. Under this head Manu gives us a list of the weights in use in his time. It begins, of course, with the theoretically smallest weight, Trasarenu, the mote which can be seen when the sun shines through a lattice.

8 Trasarenu . . .	1 Likshâ (egg of a louse).
3 Likshâ	1 Black mustard grain.
3 Black mustard grain .	1 White mustard seed.
6 White mustard seed .	1 Barleycorn.
3 Barleycorn . . .	1 Krishmala or Raktikâ.
5 Krishmala . . .	1 Mâsha (bean).
16 Mâsha	1 Suvarna.
4 Suvarna . . .	1 Pala.
10 Pala	1 Dharana.
2 Krishmala of silver .	1 Mâshaka (silver).
16 Mâshaka . . .	1 Dharana (silver).
1 Karsha of copper . .	1 Kârshâpana or Pana.
10 Dharana (silver) . .	1 Satamâna.
4 Suvarna	1 Nishka (VIII, 132–137).

With regard to interest on loans, Manu quotes from Vasishtha's Dharma-Sûtra, and says that "a money-lender may stipulate, as an increase of his capital, for the interest allowed by Vasishtha, and take monthly the eightieth part of a hundred." This comes to 15 per cent. per annum, and was the interest on security; but for unsecured loans the interest was 24 per cent., 36 per cent., 48, or 60 per cent., according as the borrower was a Brâhman, a Kshatriya, a Vaisya, or a Sûdra (VIII, 140–142). It is needless to say that this graduated scale is only theoretical,—a money-lender looked more to the competence of the borrower than to his caste.

It appears that female slaves could be pledged, like other property, by persons borrowing money (VIII, 149). When the property pledged was one from which profit accrued (like land), no interest could be charged (VIII, 143). Sixty per cent. was the very highest rate of interest which could be recovered (VIII, 152); but special rates were allowed in the case of merchants going on sea voyages, probably to cover the insurance on risks (VIII, 157). And lastly, we are told that contracts made under intoxication, or contrary to law and usage, or fraudulently, or by force, were void (VIII, 163–168).

(2) DEPOSITS. A person with whom an open or sealed deposit was made, was compelled under the law to restore it, except when the deposit was stolen by thieves, washed away by water, or burnt down by fire. It would appear that fraudulent demands of things never deposited, and fraudulent refusal to return deposits were by no means unknown, and in both cases the guilty persons were punished as thieves (VIII, 191).

(3) SALE WITHOUT OWNERSHIP. Such sales were to be considered null and void, and the seller, if a kinsman of the real owner, to be fined 600 panas,—and if not a kinsman, he was to be treated as a thief (VIII, 198, 199).

(4) PARTNERSHIP. It appears that disputes often

arose among priests who performed a religious rite in common, and could not agree in sharing the fee or reward. Manu decides that the Adhvaryu should take a chariot, the Brâhman a horse, the Hotri also a horse, and the Udgâtri a cart. And on this principle, says the legislator, should shares be allotted among all men working conjointly. The principle, which is somewhat obscure, is the natural one that each man is to be paid according to the amount and nature of his work (VIII, 209–211).

(5) RESUMPTION OF GIFTS. A gift made for a pious purpose could be revoked if the money was not used for the purpose for which it was given (VIII, 212).

(6) NON-PAYMENT OF WAGES. The law is very simple, viz., that a workman was not to be paid unless he did his work completely, according to agreement (VIII, 217).

(7) NON-PERFORMANCE OF AGREEMENTS. The breaking of an agreement after swearing to it was very severely punished; the offender was to be banished, imprisoned, and fined six nishkas of four suvarnas each, and one satamâna of silver (VIII, 219, 220).

(8) RESCISSION OF SALE AND PURCHASE. There is a most remarkable rule that a purchaser or a seller, if he repented of his bargain, might return or take back the chattel within ten days. Commentators add that this rule applied only to things not easily spoilt, like land, copper, &c. (VIII, 222).

(9) DISPUTES BETWEEN OWNERS OF CATTLE AND SERVANTS. Frequent cases probably arose between owners and keepers of cattle, and the law on the subject has been somewhat minutely laid down. The responsibility for the safety of the cattle was with the herdsman during the day, and with the owner during the night, *i.e.*, if the cattle were in his house by night; and the hired herdsman could in the absence of other wages take the milk of one cow in ten. He was responsible for all animals lost by his negligence. Thus, if sheep and

goats were attacked by a wolf, and the herdsman did not try to save them, he was responsible for the loss. There was a healthy rule of keeping pasture lands round every village and every town, which has, unfortunately, disappeared in these days. On all sides of a village, lands to the width of 100 dhanus were to be kept for pasture, and thrice that space was to be reserved round towns. If cattle did any damage to any unfenced crops on that common, the herdsman was not responsible. Fields situated away from the common were not fenced, and if cattle strayed there and did damage to crops, a fine was imposed of one pana and a quarter per head of cattle, and the actual damage done had also to be made good (VIII, 230–241).

(10) DISPUTES ABOUT BOUNDARIES. We have a curious glimpse into the state of villages and agriculture in the laws on this subject. The month of Jaishtha (May–June) is the driest in the year in India, and it is laid down that all disputes regarding boundaries of contiguous villages should be decided in that month. Such boundaries were generally marked by an Asvathva, Kinsuka, or other tree, by tanks, wells, cisterns, and fountains. Hidden marks were to be left to determine boundaries, and stones, bones, pebbles, &c., were to be buried where such boundaries met.

When a boundary question could not be decided on the existing landmarks, the villagers were to be examined, and on failure of villagers, hunters, fowlers, herdsmen, fishermen, root diggers, snake catchers, gleaners, and foresters could be examined. If all these resources failed, the king was directed to generously make good out of his own demesnes any possible loss to either of the contending villages (VIII, 245–265).

(11) and (12) ASSAULT AND DEFAMATION. We now come to Criminal Law properly so called, and there we meet once more the influence of that baneful system which has cast its shadow over every phase of Hindu

civilisation and life. A Brâhman should be fined 50 panas for defaming a Kshatriya, 25 panas for defaming a Vaisya, and 12 panas for defaming a Sûdra, but a Sûdra who defamed a Brâhman should have his tongue cut out, "for he is of low origin." And if he mentioned the names and castes of the twice-born with contumely, an iron nail ten fingers long should be thrust red-hot into his mouth (VIII, 268–271). It must not be supposed that the actual administration of the law was ever so barbarous, or that even Brâhman judges ever disgraced themselves by inflicting such monstrous punishments on Sûdras who had in a moment of anger used harsh words towards Brâhmans. Brâhmans have painted themselves much worse than they really were; and the administration of the law, sufficiently cruel towards the poor Sûdra as it undoubtedly was, was never so barbarous as it is said to have been. "With whatever limb a man of low castes does hurt to a man of the highest castes, even that limb shall be cut off;—that is the teaching of Manu" (VIII, 279). But with due deference to Manu, we may be permitted to doubt if his countrymen ever disgraced themselves by following this teaching!

The ordinary punishment for defaming was 12 panas (VIII, 269), and for causing hurt so as to cut the skin, 100 panas. If a muscle was cut, 6 nishkas was the fine, and if a bone was broken, the offender was banished. (VIII, 284).

For causing damage, a fine equal to the damage was levied, but if the property was of inferior value, five times the damage was levied (VIII, 288, 289).

(13) and (14) THEFT AND ROBBERY. The utmost precautions were taken to punish thieves, for if the king "punishes thieves, his fame grows and his kingdom prospers" (VIII, 302). And the king who does not afford protection to property and yet takes his leases, tolls, and fines, "will soon sink into hell" (VIII, 307).

Thefts were punished with various fines, or with

corporal punishment, or with the amputation of the hand. When theft was committed in presence of the owner (*i.e.*, with violence), it was called robbery (VIII, 319–332). The use of violence was considered a most serious offence; but the right of private defence was granted when a man was attacked by assassins and in other cases (VIII, 345–350).

(15) ADULTERY. This offence was always looked upon with the greatest detestation in India, and an adulterer, if he was not a Brâhman, was to be punished with death, "for the wives of all the four castes must always be carefully guarded" (VIII, 359). Violating an unwilling maiden was punishable with corporal punishment, or with the amputation of two fingers and a fine of 600 panas (VIII, 364, 367). We have still more terrible punishments provided for; a woman seducing another was to be lashed and fined, an adulteress was to be devoured by dogs, and an adulterer was to be burnt to death (VIII, 369, 371, 372). It is doubtful, however, if such sentences as the above were ever carried out.

Less cruel punishments are provided for further down. For a Sûdra committing adultery with a twice-born woman, amputation was the punishment. For a Vaisya and a Kshatriya committing the offence with a Brâhman, imprisonment or heavy fines were provided. For a Brâhman committing the offence with a woman of the same caste a heavy fine was imposed (VIII, 374–378,. A Brâhman was on no account to be punished with death, "though he have committed all possible crimes." "No greater crime is known on earth than slaying a Brâhman" (VIII, 380, 381).

At the conclusion of the sections on Criminal Law, Manu has some miscellaneous provisions. A sacrificer forsaking his priest, or a priest forsaking his sacrificer, a son forsaking his parents, a Brâhman not asking his neighbours to invitations, and a Srotriya not entertaining other Srotriyas, were all punishable with fines. There

are provisions for the punishment of dishonest washermen and weavers. The king could impose an *ad valorem* tax of five per cent. on the sale of all merchandise. He could keep a monopoly of certain articles in his hands, and punish those who traded on those articles. He levied customs and tolls. And it is even said that he was to fix the price of all marketable goods; but this of course was never attempted by any ruler. The king was also to settle all weights and measures, fix ferry charges, direct Vaisyas to trade, to lend money, or to cultivate the land, and make the Sûdra to serve the twice-born castes.

Slaves are said to be of seven kinds, viz., captives of war, those serving for daily food, slaves born as such in the house, slaves bought or given by others, slaves inherited, and men enslaved by way of punishment (VIII, 388–415).

(16) HUSBAND AND WIFE. Manu begins this subject with insisting on the dependence of women on men, and with certain sayings about women, which may have been considered witty at the time, but which are unworthy of Manu's pages. For, as we have seen before, Manu assigns on the whole a high and respected position to women.

We have seen before how Manu contradicts himself on the ancient custom of raising issue on a widow, and there can be no doubt that public opinion was against such custom after the Christian Era. We have also seen how widow marriage was becoming unpopular, though it was no doubt still prevalent in Manu's time. The marriage of a virgin widow is, however, expressly permitted (IX, 69). Again, Manu quotes the ancient rule that a wife should wait for her husband eight years, if he went on sacred duty, six years if he went for learning or fame, and three years if he went for pleasure. One commentator states that she was to marry again after that period, and that is the obvious meaning of the old rule.

A wife must not show aversion to a drunken husband, but may show aversion to a mad husband or an outcast, or one "afflicted with such diseases as punish crimes." A drunken, rebellious, or diseased wife might be superseded, and so also a barren wife, or one who bore female children only (IX, 78–81). But this superseding does not mean absolute desertion; but the wife must still be kept in the house, and maintained (IX, 83).

"Let mutual fidelity continue until death."—This is the highest law for husband and wife (IX, 101).

(17) INHERITANCE. The important subject of Inheritance is treated in over a hundred sections (IX, 104–220), but it is not necessary for our purpose that we should go into the law on the subject in detail. After the death of the father and mother, the brothers might equally divide the estate among themselves (IX, 104), or the joint-family system might be continued under the eldest brother, who would under those circumstances take the management of the whole estate (IX, 105). But the separation of brothers is not condemned; on the contrary, it is recommended and called meritorious (IX, 111). To the eldest and youngest sons additional shares were allotted in the division of property (IX, 112–117). To maiden sisters each brother should pay out of his share one-fourth (IX, 118), but this is supposed by commentators to mean that brothers must provide for the dowry of their unmarried sisters. In IX, 120, 146, &c., we have a provision for the son begotten on the wife or widow of an elder brother by a younger brother, although Manu has elsewhere condemned such practice. Again, a person who had no sons might make his daughter an "appointed daughter," saying to her husband, "the male child born of her shall perform my funeral rites." And when this was done, there was no distinction between a son's son and an appointed daughter's son (IX, 127, 133). IX, 141 and 142 sanction adoption.

As usual, Manu repeats the old rules laid down by

Sûtrakâras about the twelve different kinds of sons, although, in accordance with the public opinion of his own time, Manu calls the last eleven of these to be "bad substitutes for a real son" (IX, 161). The twelve kinds of sons are—*Aurasa*, or son begotten on wedded wife; *Kshetraja*, son begotten on the wife of a diseased man or the widow of a deceased; *Dâtrima*, son adopted; *Kritrima*, a son made such; *Gûdhotpanna*, a son secretly born, his father being not known, he must be supposed to be the son of his mother's husband; *Apaviddha*, a son received as such after desertion by his natural parents; *Kânîna*, son of an unmarried damsel, who must be considered the son of him who marries the damsel afterwards; *Sahodha*, son of the woman who is married when she is pregnant; *Krîtaka*, a son bought; *Paunarbhava*, son of a remarried widow; *Svayamdatta*, an orphan who gives himself up as the son of another; and *Pârasava*, a son begotten by a Brâhman on a Sûdra female (IX, 167–178).

Of these twelve kinds of sons, the first six are kinsmen and heirs, the last six only kinsmen (IX, 158). And among these different kinds of sons, on failure of each better son, each next inferior is worthy of inheritance (IX, 184). Failing children, father, and brothers, a man's property will go to the nearest relative within three degrees; failing such, a Sakulya, or next the spiritual teacher or pupil, or lastly to Brâhmans (IX, 187, 188).

Strîdhana, or the exclusive property of females, is defined to be what is given before the nuptial fire, or in the bridal procession, or by the husband as token of love, or by brother, mother, or father (IX, 194).

"When the mother has died, all the uterine brothers and sisters shall equally divide the mother's estate (IX, 192).

(18) GAMBLING AND BETTING, &c. "These two vices cause the destruction of the kingdoms of princes," and kings are therefore recommended to exclude them from

their realms. Corporal punishment is enjoined for the offence (IX, 224), and banishment is also provided for them, as well as for dancers, singers, and men of a heretical sect, *i.e.*, Buddhists! (IX, 225).

Death is provided for forgers of royal edicts, for bribing ministers, for slaying women, infants, and Brâhmans, and for treason (IX, 232). Branding on the forehead is provided for violating a guru's bed, for drinking surâ (wine), and for stealing a Brâhman's gold or killing a Brâhman (IX, 237). A thief caught with stolen property and the implements of burglary, as well as those who gave shelter to thieves, might be slain (IX, 270, 271). Robbers, housebreakers, cut-purses, and others might have their hands or two fingers cut off (IX, 276, 277).

Death or severe punishment is provided for destroying dams of tanks (IX, 279), and fine is provided for physicians treating their patients wrongly! (IX, 284). Various punishments are provided for the adulteration of commodities, for mischief of different kinds, for cheating in the sale of seed corn, for the dishonesty of goldsmiths, and for the theft of agricultural instruments (IX, 258–293).

Besides the two chapters on law, Manu has a separate chapter on Penances, &c., for sins committed, and a very few remarks will indicate what were considered the greatest sins.

PENANCES. Here, again, we find that "killing a Brâhman, drinking the liquor called surâ, stealing the gold of a Brâhman, adultery with a guru's wife, and association with men who have committed these offences, are the gravest moral sins, the *Mahâpâtakas*" (XI, 55). The reader will find that they are identically the same as the *Mahâpâtakas* enumerated before by Vasishtha. There are other offences which are said to be equal to these in enormity, among which we note giving false evidence, incest, and the defilement of maidens, desertion of one's parents, and neglecting the Veda.

Less heinous than the *Mahâpâtakas* are the *Upapâtakas*, among which we find the neglecting of the domestic fire, slaying kine, theft, non-payment of debts, living as a Vrâtya,—and lastly, and curiously enough,—"superintending mines or factories and executing great mechanical works," which, according to commentators, means constructing dams or making great machines like sugar mills and the like (IX, 60, 67). The caste-system in India had the baneful result of degrading arts and industries and all men engaged in them; but it is with regret and pain that a Hindu writer notes that mechanical works were actually classed with sins.

The date of Manu's Institutes has formed the subject of much controversy since the time of Sir William Jones; but it is now generally admitted that the compilation now extant was framed within a century or two before or after the Christian Era. It speaks (X, 44) of the Yavanas, the Chînas, the Sakas, and the Kambojas, and this passage sufficiently indicates its date. The work, as we have stated before, stands half way between the ancient Sûtras of India, on which it is based, and the later Dharma Sâstras of the Puranic Period, of which we will speak in the next Book. Unlike the former, it belongs to no particular Vedic school, but is the law for all Aryans. And unlike the latter, Manu does not yet know of the Hindu Trinity or the Puranic mythology, ignores the worship of images, despises temples and temple priests, and still proclaims Vedic rites and sacrifices.

CHAPTER XII.

ASTRONOMY AND LEARNING.

WE have in the preceding pages dwelt on the history and political condition of the Hindus, their arts and architecture, their social life and laws during the Buddhist Period. It remains now to say a few words about their learning and progress in knowledge during that age. Unfortunately, our materials are very poor,—poorer perhaps than those for any other period of ancient Hindu history.

Nor are the reasons far to seek. For five or six centuries India was the scene of foreign invasions and wars, and literature and science could not have a healthy and natural growth. Much of what was achieved was also under Buddhist influences, and bore the mark of Buddhism, and later Hindu writers have not been careful in preserving such records. And lastly, scientific works composed in this period have been replaced to a great extent by the more exhaustive works of the Puranic Period which followed. For all these reasons, the literary and scientific remains of the Buddhist Period are scanty indeed.

Nevertheless, intellectual pursuits were never given up in India, and there was no such thing as a "literary interregnum" in Hindu history. And traces of what was done in the Buddhist Age are still left to us.

We have spoken of the six schools of Hindu philosophy in our account of the Rationalistic Period; but it should be remembered that some of them, viz., the Yoga of Patanjali and the Vedânta of Bâdarâyana Vyâsa, were started in the Buddhist Age, and all the six schools were considerably developed in this age. Patanjali was again

the writer of the celebrated Mahâbhâsya or Great Commentary on Pânini,—a monument of the grammatical culture of the Buddhist Period.

In religious literature, the Code of Manu belongs to the Buddhist Age, while much of the large mass of Buddhist theology was composed in this age, in the universities of Nâlanda and elsewhere. In poetry, little is left to us that clearly belongs to this period; but nevertheless the earliest beginnings of later or classic Sanscrit poetry date from this age. We know from the inscriptions of the Gupta kings, that graceful and flowing versification was appreciated. Poetry was honoured by kings in courts, and Samudragupta, the greatest of the Gupta kings, who reigned towards the close of the fourth century, was himself a poet, and received the title of Kavirâja from his court poets.

But it was in astronomy that the most brilliant results were achieved in the Buddhist Age. We have seen before that astronomical observations were made as early as the Vedic Age; and that early in the Epic Age the lunar zodiac was fixed, the position of the solstitial points marked, and other phenomena carefully observed and noted. No separate astronomical works however of these ages, or even of the Rationalistic Age, have come down to us. The oldest astronomical works of which we know anything, or which have come down to us, belong to the Buddhist Period.

Hindu writers speak of eighteen ancient Siddhântas or astronomical works, but they are now mostly lost. They are named below:—

1. Parâsara Siddhânta.	10. Marîchi Siddhânta.
2. Garga „	11. Manu „
3. Brahma „	12. Angîras „
4. Sûrya „	13. Romaka „
5. Vyâsa „	14. Pulisa „
6. Vasishtha „	15. Chyavana „
7. Atri „	16. Yavana „
8. Kasyapa „	17. Bhrigu „
9. Nârada „	18. Saunaka or Soma „

A few remarks about some of these Siddhântas will throw some light on the pursuit of the science in the Buddhist Age; and we will premise that the Hindus received much of their astronomical knowledge of this age from the Greeks, who cultivated the science with great success.

Parâsara, says Professor Weber, is considered to be the most ancient of Hindu astronomers, and the second in order of time is Garga. Of Parâsara we know next to nothing, except that his name is connected with the Veda Calendar. The work which professes to contain Parâsara's teachings is called the Parâsara Tantra. It was held in high esteem in the Puranic Period, and Varâhamihira often quotes from it. "To judge from very numerous quotations, the greater part, at least a large part of it, is written in prose, a striking peculiarity among the works of its class. A pretty large part is in Anushtubh, and it contains also Âryâs. Interesting for the geography of India is an entire chapter which Varâhamihira, only changing the form, but leaving the matter almost intact, has given in the fourteenth chapter of the Brihat Sanhitâ."* As the Yavanas or Greeks are placed by Parâsara in Western India, the date of the work cannot be much earlier than the second century B.C.

Of Garga we know something more, and he is one of the few Hindu writers who tell us something of the Greek invasion of India of the second century B.C. He could feel respect for learned men among the Greeks,—although they were considered Mlechchhas,—and the following passage of his is well known and often quoted: "The Yavanas (Greeks) are Mlechchhas, but amongst them this science (astrology) is well established. Therefore they are honoured as Rishis,—how much more than an astrologer who is a Brâhman."

In the historical portion of his work Garga speaks of the four Yugas, the third ending and the fourth

* Kern, *Brihat Sanhitâ*, Preface, p. 32.

beginning with the war of the Mahâbhârata. Further on we are told of the Sisunâga dynasty of Magadha, and then of the Maurya kings. Speaking of Sâlisuka (whom we know to be the fourth in succession from Asoka the Great), Garga says: "Then the viciously valiant Greeks, after reducing Sâketa (Oude), the Panchâla country, and Mathura, will reach Kusumadhvaja (Patna); Pushpapura (Patna) being taken, all provinces will undoubtedly be in disorder."

So rarely do Sanscrit writers furnish us with historical facts, that we are thankful to get, in the astronomy of Garga, evidence of the conquest of India as far down as Patna by the Bactrian Greeks, in the second century B.C. Many of our readers are aware that the profound scholar Dr. Goldstücker discovered mention of this invasion of Oude by the Greeks in Patanjali's work, and has thus fixed the date of Patanjali, the author of Mahâbhâsya and of the Yoga Philosophy.

But we will proceed with Garga. "The unconquerable Yavanas (Greeks) will not remain in the middle-country. There will be a cruel, dreadful war among themselves. Then, after the destruction of the Greeks at the end of the Yuga, seven powerful kings will reign in Oude." We are then told, that after the Greeks the rapacious Sakas were the most powerful, and we have little difficulty in recognising in them the Yu-Chi conquerors, who destroyed the kingdom of Bactria about 130 B.C. These new conquerors continued to repeat their depredations, and the annals of Garga here come to an end. From the details given above, Dr. Kern is right in placing Garga in the first century before Christ.

We now proceed to some of the other Siddhântas, viz.:—The five Siddhântas which are known as the Pancha-siddhânta, and on which Varâhamihira based his work the Pancha-siddhântikâ in the sixth century.

They are the *Brahma* or Paitâmaha, the *Sûrya* or Saura, the *Vasishtha*, the *Romaka*, and the *Pulisa*.

The ancient Brahma or Paitâmaha Siddhânta seems to have been entirely superseded by the celebrated work of Brahmagupta known as the Sphuta-Brahma Siddhânta. Alberuni obtained a copy of this last work in the eleventh century, and speaks of it in his account of India.

The Sûrya Siddhânta is a famous work, but the original work has been so often recast and recompiled that the original is lost to us. We do not know the date of the original work, except that it must have been composed in the Buddhist Age; and we do not know when the work was recast finally in the shape in which we have it now, except that it was in the Puranic Age.

Utpala, the commentator of Varâhamihira, lived in the tenth century, and quotes six slokas from the Sûrya-Siddhânta of his day, not one of which slokas, as Dr. Kern points out, is to be found in the present edition of the Siddhânta. Nevertheless, "the Sûrya-Siddhânta in its present edition is a lineal and legitimate descendant of the work mentioned by Varâhamihira as one of his authorities."*

The work, as we find it now, is divided into fourteen chapters, and treats of the mean places and true places of planets, of questions on time, of the eclipses of the moon and the sun, of the conjunction of planets and stars, of the heliacal rising and setting of planets and stars, of the phases of the moon and the position of the moon's cusps, of the declination of the sun and the moon, of cosmography, of the construction of astronomical instruments, and of the different kinds of time.†

The Vasishtha-Siddhânta is ascribed by Alberuni to Vishnu Chandra, but Brahmagupta states more correctly that the ancient work was revised by Vishnu Chandra.

* Kern, *Brihat Sanhitâ*, Preface, p. 46.

† See Whitney's translation or Bapudeva Sâstri's translation.

A work pretending to be Vasishtha-Siddhânta now exists, but it is undoubtedly a modern work.

The Romaka-Siddhânta is ascribed, both by Brahmagupta and by Alberuni, to Srî Sena. A spurious and modern Romaka-Siddhânta exists which contains a horoscope of Jesus Christ, and an account of the kingdom of Baber, and of the conquest of Sindh by Akbar!

The Pulisa-Siddhânta was known to Alberuni, who obtained a copy of it, and he calls the author Paules the Greek. Professor Weber thinks that Pulisa the Greek may be identical with Paulus Alexandrinus, the author of an astrological work, the Eisagoge. Dr. Kern thinks this identification doubtful, although he has no doubt that Pulisa was a Greek.

These are the five famous Siddhântas which were compiled together by Varâhamihira in the sixth century. Dr. Kern roughly dates them half way between Garga and Varâhamihira,—*i.e.*, about 250 A.D.

Works in various other departments existed in the Buddhist Period, which are now lost to us. For instance, we learn with much interest that Nagnajit composed a work on architecture, sculpture, painting, and kindred arts.

Medicine appears to have made great progress in the Buddhist Age, when hospitals were established all over the country. The great writers on Hindu medicine, known as Charaka and Susruta, lived and wrote in the Buddhist Age. But their works seem to have been recast in the Puranic Age, and we will speak of them when we come to treat of that age.

BOOK V.

PURANIC PERIOD, A.D. 500 TO A.D. 1000.

CHAPTER I.

VIKRAMÂDITYA THE GREAT AND HIS SUCCESSORS.

WE have now come to the last act of the drama of Hindu History, and the curtain rises on a truly great spectacle. The victor of a great and patriotic war, the patron of reviving Hinduism, the centre of all that is best and most beautiful in modern Sanscrit literature, and the subject of a hundred legends, Vikramâditya the Great is to the Hindus what Charlemagne is to the French, what Alfred is to the English, what Asoka is to Buddhists, and what Harun Ar'Rashid is to Mahommedans. To the learned as to the illiterate, to the poet as to the story-teller, to old men as to schoolboys, his name is as familiar in India as the name of any prince or potentate in any country. Tender recollections of Sakuntalâ and Urvasî rise in the minds of Hindu scholars with the name of the prince in whose court Kâlidâsa flourished. Hindu astronomers cherish the memory of the patron of Varâhamihira; and Hindu lexicographers honour the name of the potentate who honoured Amara Sinha. And as if his true claims to glory were not enough, a hundred tales familiarise his name to the illiterate and the simple. Villagers assemble to this day under the umbrageous pepul tree to hear how the thirty-two speaking puppets, who bore aloft the throne of the great emperor, would not

brook his successor, and departed, each telling a story of Vikrama's glory. And little boys in every village school in India still learn with wondering admiration how the undaunted Vikrama struggled in the midst of darkness and scenes of terror to obtain mastery over a mighty spirit, and how he succeeded at last, by his indomitable bravery, his never wavering judgment, his never failing self-possession and valour.

When we turn, however, from literary recollections and popular tales to history, we find the greatest confusion with regard to Vikrama's age and even his very identity! For a long time scholars held that Vikramâditya, the patron of Kâlidâsa, lived about 56 B.C., as the Samvat Era would seem to indicate. This opinion has now been generally abandoned. Mr. Fleet maintains, as has been stated before, that the Samvat Era was an old existing Era of the Mâlavas, and that "the name of Vikrama or Vikramâditya came to be connected with the Mâlava Era of B.C. 57 in consequence of some confused reminiscence of a conquest of the Indo-Scythians by Chandragupta I. or II." of the Gupta line of kings who assumed the title of Vikramâditya.*

Such is the darkness which still hangs over the origin of the Samvat Era, and we leave it to subsequent scholars to dispel this gloom. We ourselves believe that Vikramâditya, the patron of Kalidâsa, reigned in the sixth century after Christ, and we will briefly mention our reasons for holding this opinion.

Houen Tsang, who came to India in the seventh century, places the reign of Sîlâditya I about 580 A.D., and places Vikramâditya immediately before Sîlâditya. And the historian Kahlana, who lived in the twelfth century, places Vikramâditya thirty reigns after Kanishka, who reigned from 78 A.D. The evidence of Houen Tsang and of Kahlana, in our opinion, conclusively fixes the reign of Vikramâditya in the sixth century after Christ.

* *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. iii. p. 37, note 2.

Turning now to literary annals, we know that a tradition, which we will show hereafter to be at least a thousand years old, speaks of nine great writers as the *nine gems* of Vikrama's court. Varâhamihira, Vararuchi, and Kâlidâsa are the best known among them. Varâhamihira was probably born in 505 A.D., and is shown by Dr. Bhao Daji to have died in 587 A.D. Vararuchi could not have composed his Prâkrita grammar much before the fifth or sixth century, as the Prâkrita was not a literary language before that period. And Kâlidâsa's writings show that he must have lived in the fifth or sixth century, when Puranic Hinduism flourished, when temples and images were revered, and when the Hindu Trinity was worshipped. Unlike Manu, and obviously long posterior to him in point of time, the poet respects the Hindu Trinity, reveres temples and images, and even speaks of the Huns settled in the Punjab.

Kâlidâsa's successors, Bhâravi, Dandin, Bânabhatta, Subandhu, Bhartrihari, Bhavabhûti,—who have so much in common with Kâlidâsa,—all belong to the sixth to eighth century after Christ. One of them, Subandhu, speaks of Vikramâditya as departed not very long ago.* It is not possible for any scholar who has read the writings of these authors to place a period of *six centuries* between them and Kâlidâsa. Thus the evidence of the writings of Varâhamihira, Vararuchi, and of Kâlidâsa also fixes the reign of Vikramâditya in the sixth century after Christ.

With regard to Vikramâditya's victory over the Sakas, Alberuni, who lived in India in the eleventh century, tells us that Vikramâditya marched against the Saka king,

* Attention was first drawn to this passage in the Vâsavadattâ by Pundit Isvara Chandra Vidyâsâgara. It may be thus translated: "Now that Vikra mâditya has disappeared save in his fame, the excellence of political sentiments has disappeared, new writers are flourishing, and each attacks every one else in this earth,—even like a lake where Sârasa birds disappear, where Vaka birds do not sport, and where the Kanka bird does not stride about when the sun is set."

"put him to flight, and killed him in the region of Korur, between Multan and the castle of Loni." This is, unfortunately, all that we know historically of Vikrama's great victory over the foreign invaders.

This defeat or expulsion of the foreign invaders had, however, the happiest results, and secured peace to Northern India, which had been harassed by centuries of invasions. The arts of peace flourished with the return of peace. The courts of kings as well as large towns became the centres of luxury and wealth, industries and manufactures. Science raised her head, and modern Hindu astronomy obtained a fresh start. Poetry and the Drama lighted their magic lamps, and spread light and gladness on the Hindu mind. Religion itself gathered strength and life, and Hinduism in its new and Puranic form sought to win back the people from the ranks of Buddhism.

Buddhism had never assumed a hostile attitude towards the parent religion of India; and the fact that the two religions existed side by side for long centuries increased their toleration of each other. In every country Buddhists and orthodox Hindus lived side by side. Hindus went to Buddhist monasteries and universities, and Buddhists learned from Brâhman sages. The same kings favoured the followers of both systems of religion. The Gupta emperors were often worshippers of Siva and Vishnu, but loaded Buddhists and Buddhist monasteries with gifts, presents, and favours. One king was often a Buddhist and his son an orthodox Hindu; and often two brothers followed or favoured the two religions without fighting. Every court had learned men belonging to both the religions, and Vikramâditya's court was no exception to the rule.

We will speak of the great writers of Vikrama's court when we come to treat of literature and science, but our account of Vikrama's rule will not be complete without some mention, however brief, of those writers here.

A verse naming the nine gems* of Vikrama's court is known to every Pandit in India. In an inscription of Buddha Gayâ dated Samvat 1015, or 948 A.D., we find the following passage:—"Vikramâditya was certainly a king renowned in the world. So in his court were nine learned men known under the epithet of *nava-ratnâni.*" The antiquity of the tradition is thus beyond question.

Kâlidâsa is the central figure among these noted literary men. We read in the Râjatarangini that, after the death of Toramâna, his son Pravarasena was unable to assert his claims to the throne of Kashmir, and that Vikramâditya of Ujjayinî, the recognised emperor of India, sent an eminent poet of his court, Mâtrigupta by name, to rule in Kashmir. Mâtrigupta ruled till the death of his patron, when he retired as a Yati to Benares, and Pravarasena succeeded in Kashmir. Dr. Bhao Daji first started the bold theory that this Mâtrigupta is no other than the poet Kâlidâsa. We need not mention in detail the reasons given by that scholar for his supposition, and need only state that though they are plausible, they are not convincing. On the other hand Kshemendra, a poet of Kashmir, has, in a critical work which he has left, treated Kâlidâsa and Mâtrigupta as different poets, and Kshemendra's authority on this point must be held as conclusive.

We next come to the poet Bhâravi, the author of the Kirâtârjunîya. He does not appear to have flourished in the court of Vikramâditya, but an inscription has been found, dated 637 A.D., in which his name and that of Kâlidâsa are mentioned. If he was not a contemporary of Kâlidâsa, he certainly lived in the sixth century A.D.

Amara Sinha, the writer of the best known dictionary in Sanscrit, was one of the "nine gems," and was a Buddhist. His work was translated into Chinese in the

* They are Dhanvantari, Kshapanaka, Amara Sinha, Sanku, Vetâlabhatta, Ghatakarpara, Kâlidâsa, Varâhamihira, and Vararuchi.

sixth century, and he is said to have built the Buddhist temple at Buddha Gayâ.*

In astronomy, Âryabhatta was the first writer of the Puranic Period. He was born, as he tells us, in 476 A.D.† He did not belong to Vikramâditya's court; he was born in Pâtaliputra, and made his mark early in the sixth century, before Vikramâditya became renowned.

Varâhamihira, who followed Âryabhatta, was one of the "nine gems." He was a native of Avanti, and died in 587 A.D.

His successor Brahmagupta was born at the very close of the sixth century, in 598 A.D., and wrote his work when he was thirty years of age, in 628 A.D. Brahmagupta's father was Jishnu, and may have been the very Jishnu mentioned as one of the contemporaries of Kâlidâsa.

Of the remaining "gems" of Vikrama's court, Dhanvantari was a famous physician, and is mentioned by Dandin in his Dasa Kumâra Charita. Vetâlabhatta was the author of Nîtipradîpa, and Vararuchi was a well-known grammarian. Ghatakarpara, Sanku, and Kshapanaka are little known; and posterity has not held them in the same honour in which they were held in the royal court of Vikrama.

We are now able to form some idea of the great literary activity which marked Vikramâditya's age, and has shed an undying lustre round his name. We are able, after a lapse of over thirteen centuries, to form some conception of the upheaval of the Hindu mind and the rise of literary genius which marked the revival of Hinduism. We can imagine how after a prostration of centuries, after harassing wars and invasions, the national mind suddenly rose to vigour, to greatness, to glory. The nation wanted a leader, and Vikramâditya, the conqueror of the foreigners, the master of all Northern India, the enlightened patron of genius and learning, be it Buddhist or be it Hindu,

* See discussions on the subject in Dr. Rajendra Lala Mitra's *Buddha Gayâ.*

† Dr. Bhao Daji on the age of Âryabhatta.

stood forth as the leader. The times called for a great man, and the great man appeared. And the nation gathered round their great king, and achieved results in literature and science, such as were seldom achieved before.

Thus if we try to read history carefully and aright, if we brush aside fables and exaggerations, we can understand each period of Indian History philosophically, and trace each result to its true cause. We trace the greatness of Vikramâditya himself to the circumstances by which he was surrounded; we understand the matchless flights of Kâlidâsa's fancy in the light of the general exhilaration of the Hindu spirit in his time; we appreciate the labours of Varâhamihira and Amara Sinha, incited as they were by a spirit of emulation, in a very learned court; and we understand a healthy rivalry between Hindus and Buddhists at a time when difference of opinion had not degenerated into intolerance and persecution. Buddhism was decaying and Hinduism was reviving, and naturally enough the reviving religion showed the greatest signs of vigour, of learning, of genius.

After Vikramâditya the Great, Sîlâditya Pratâpasîla became the master of Northern India about 550 A.D. We know from Houen Tsang that he was inclined towards Buddhism, and in his court, Vasubandhu, the pupil of Manoratha, was honoured, and won a great victory in controversy over the Hindu party. Vasubandhu was the son of a Brâhman, and was the brother of the famous Asanga. He studied in Kashmir, returned to Magadha, became a Pundit in the University of Nâlanda, and died in Nepal. We do not know of any other great men of Ṣîlâditya's court.

Sîlâditya I. was succeeded by Prabhâkara Vardhana probably about 580 A.D. Prabhâkara's sister Râjyasrî was married to Grahavarman, but a war broke out with Mâlava, and Prabhâkara was defeated and Grahavarman was killed.

Prabhâkara was succeeded by Râjyavardhana about

605 A.D. Râjyavardhana continued the war with Mâlava, and slew the king of that country. We know from Houen Tsang that Râjyavardhana was afterwards defeated and killed by Sasânka Narendra Gupta, king of Karna Suvarna or Western Bengal.

He was succeeded by his younger brother Sîlâditya II., called Harshavardhana and also Kumârarâja, about 610 A.D. He was a great and powerful king, and, both by his conquests and by his patronage of learning, revived the memories of Vikramâditya's reign. In six years he conquered the "five Indies;" but he could never defeat Paulakesin II., king of the Mahârâshtras. The Mâlavas were defeated and Râjyasri was recovered, and Sîlâditya made an alliance with Bhâskaravarman, the king of Kâmarûpa, who was also known as Kumârarâja.

A copper seal of Harshavardhana or Sîlâditya II. has been discovered, and gives us his genealogy. The inscription is short, and informs us that Âdityavardhana was the son of Râjyavardhana and Mahâdevî; Prabhâkaravardhana was the son of Âdityavardhana and Mahâsenaguptâ; Râjyavardhana was the son of Prabhâkaravardhana and Yasomatî; and Prabhâkara's younger brother Harshavardhana was also begotten on Yasomati.*

We know from Houen Tsang that Sîlâditya had his capital at Kânyakubja or Kanouj, and that he held every five years a great assemblage of princes and people to celebrate a religious festival. We also know that Sîlâditya was a staunch Buddhist, though he respected and honoured Brâhmans.

Sîlâditya Harshavardhana was a renowned patron of letters, and is said to be the author of Ratnâvalî and the Buddhist drama Nâgânanda. But probably he was the real author of neither, though both the works were composed in his court. The Ratnâvalî was probably composed by Bânabhatta, the author of Kâdamvarî and

* *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, vol. iii.; Texts, &c., p. 232.

of Harshacharita, a life of the king. Dandin, the author of Dasakumâra Charita, lived before Bânbahatta and after Kâlidâsa, and alludes to Kâlidâsa. It is probable that Dandin was still living, when Bânabhatta followed in his footsteps in the more ambitious fiction of the Kâdamvarî.

The other well-known prose fiction in Sanscrit is the Vâsavadattâ of Subandhu, and he too was a contemporary of Bânabhatta, though he may have written a little earlier, as Bânabhatta often quotes him. We thus approximately know the dates of the three best prose fictions in Sanscrit.

The name of Mayûra is often mentioned in connection with the name of Bânabhatta, and a legend has it that Bâna married Mayûra's daughter, a Chandî, or scold. Mayûra is the author of Mayûra Sataka.

A more renowned name is that of Bhartrihari. In a most interesting note,* Professor Max Müller shows, on the authority of the Chinese traveller I-tsing, that Bhartrihari died about 650 A.D., or in other words, that the author of the three Satakas on Love, Discipline, and Tranquillity, was a contemporary of Sîlâditya II.

The Bhattikâvya, being an easy and entertaining method of learning grammar, is better known to Hindu students than the Satakas of Bhartrihari. Commentators of the Bhattikâvya like Kandarpa, Vidyâvinoda, and Srîdhara Svâmin call Bhartrihari the author of Bhatti. The name Bhartri has frequently been called Bhatti by other commentators, and, on the whole, there is the strongest presumption that the author of the Satakas and of the Bhattikâvya is the same person, Bhartri or Bhatti. Professor Max Müller adduces the testimony of the Chinese traveller named above to confirm this presumption.

Such was the literary activity of the time of Sîlâditya, the great emperor of Kanouj, who assembled the kings and nations of Northern India at his quinquennial

* India, &c., p. 347, &c.

festivals, and swayed the destinies of all Northern India. We have seen before that the astronomer Brahmagupta also lived in the time of this potentate.

Sîlâditya died about 648 or 650 A.D. Fifty years later, a weak prince reigned on the throne of the great Sîlâditya. The prowess and glory of Kanouj were gone, and Yasovarman, the king of Kanouj, was defeated in war by the proud Lalitâditya, king of Kashmir. The lamp of literature, lighted in Ujjayinî two centuries before, still shone, however, in the court of Yasovarman; and one of the greatest poets that India has produced, Bhavabhûti, lived in that prince's court. He is almost the last of that bright galaxy of poets who appeared in India between the sixth and the eighth centuries A.D. The Râjataranginî, from which we get this information, further tells us that two other writers, Vâkpati and Râjyasrî, also lived under Yasovarman's patronage.

If these three centuries, 500 to 800 A.D., are reckoned as the brightest period in the annals of later Sanscrit literature, those centuries also mark the period of toleration and friendly rivalry between the Hindus and the Buddhists. But controversies between the followers of the rival creeds were going on all this time, and the great Sankarâchârya, who was born about the close of the eighth century, was the strongest champion of reviving Hinduism and the strongest opponent of Buddhism.

The Dark Ages then followed, and between 800 and 1000 A.D. there is not one bright name in the history of Hindu literature, science, or art.

CHAPTER II.

HOUEN TSANG'S ACCOUNT OF INDIA.

WE now come to the records of the most eminent of Chinese travellers, Houen Tsang, whose story has shed a flood of light on the state of India in the seventh century.* He left China in 629 A.D. and came through Ferganah, Sumarkand, Bokhara, and Balk, to India, where he lived and travelled for many years, and finally returned to China in 645 A.D. At the commencement of his account of India, he gives a general description of the arts and manners of the Hindus, which we will consider further on. We proceed now with the traveller's account of the Hindu kingdoms he visited.

NAGARAHÂRA, the old capital of the Jelalabad district, was four miles in circuit. The country was rich in cereals and fruits, the manners of the people were simple and honest, and their disposition ardent and courageous. Buddhism was the prevailing religion, but Hinduism was also followed, and there were five Diva temples and about a hundred worshippers in the city. To the east of the city was a Stûpa 300 feet high, built by Asoka, and wonderfully constructed of stone beautifully adorned and carved. There were many Sanghârâmas, of which one, four miles to the south-west of the city, had a high wall and storeyed tower made of piled-up stone, and a Stûpa 200 feet high.

The kingdom of GÂNDHÂRA had its capital at Peshawar, and both Nagarahâra and Gândhâra were then

* We rely on Beal's translation.

subject to the king of Kapisa (near the Hindu Kush) and were governed by his deputies. The towns and villages of Gândhâra were deserted, and there were but few inhabitants. The country was rich in cereals, and the people were timid and fond of literature. The 1000 Sanghârâmas were deserted and in ruins, and there were about 100 Hindu temples.

While speaking of the kingdom of Gândhâra, Houen Tsang gives us an anecdote of Manohrita, a great Buddhist writer. He lived in the town of Vikramâditya "of wide renown," but Vikramâditya was a patron of Hinduism and Hindu learning, and Manohrita was disgraced in a controversy in his court, and retired in disgust, saying, "In a multitude of partisans there is no justice." Vikramâditya's successor Sîlâditya, however, was a patron of Buddhist learned men, and he honoured Vasabandhu, the pupil of Manohrita, and the Hindu learned men "were abashed and retired." Elsewhere, in his account of Malwa, Houen Tsang says that Sîlâditya reigned sixty years before his time, *i.e.*, about 580 A.D., and Vikramâditya's long reign would therefore fall before 550 A.D., which corresponds with the date we have given him.

Near the town of POLUSHA, our traveller came to a high mountain on which he found a figure of Bhîmâ Devî (Durgâ) carved out of bluish stone. Rich and poor assembled here from every part, near and distant, and saw the image after prayers and fasting. Below the mountain was a temple of Mahesvara, and the Hindu sect (Pâsupata), who covered themselves with ashes, came here to offer sacrifice. From these places Houen Tsang came to Salâtura, the birthplace of Pânini the grammarian.

At UDYÂNA or the country round Cabul, where Fa Hian had found Buddhism flourishing two centuries before, Houen Tsang found the Sanghârâmas waste and desolate, and few monks residing in them. There were ten temples of Devas.

Crossing the Indus, the traveller ascended the river through mountain gorges to LITTLE THIBET. "The roads are craggy and steep, the mountains and the valleys are dark and gloomy. Sometimes we have to cross by ropes, sometimes by iron chains stretched (across the gorges). There are footbridges suspended in the air, and flying bridges across the chasms." From Little Thibet, Houen Tsang went to Takshasîlâ and Sinhapura, both subject to Kashmir, and at Sinhapura he met with the sects of Jainas called Svetâmbaras and Digambaras. "The laws of their founder are mostly filched from the principles of the books of Buddha. . . . The figure of their sacred master (Mahâvîra) they stealthily class with that of Tathâgata (Buddha); it differs only in point of clothing; the points of beauty are absolutely the same." There is no doubt Houen Tsang regarded the Jainas as separatists from Buddhism.

KASHMIR is said to have been 1400 miles in circuit, and its capital was two and a half miles in length and a mile broad. The soil produced cereals and abounded in fruits and flowers. The climate was cold and stern. There was much snow, but little wind. The people wore leather doublets and clothes of white linen. They were light and frivolous, and of a weak, pusillanimous disposition. They were handsome in appearance, but were given to cunning. They loved learning, and were well instructed. There were both Hindus and Buddhists among them. There were about 100 Sanghârâmas and 5000 monks.

Kashmir was still redolent of the fame of Kanishka, and our traveller has, of course, something to say of that powerful king. Here and elsewhere Houen Tsang states that the Nirvâna of Buddha took place a hundred years before the time of Asoka. When, therefore, Houen Tsang says that "in the four hundredth year after the Nirvâna of Tathâgata, Kanishka king of Gândhâra having succeeded to the kingdom, his kingly renown

reached far, and he brought the most remote under his jurisdiction,"—we must understand him to say that Kanishka lived 300 years after Asoka, *i.e.*, about 78 A.D., and this corresponds with the date which has been given to him, and with the Saka Era.

In connection with Kanishka, our traveller gives an account of the great Council of Northern Buddhists which took place in his reign. We are told that the five hundred sages who assembled composed three commentaries, viz., the *Upadesa Sâstra*, to explain the Sûtra Pitaka; the *Vinaya Vibhâsâ Sâstra*, to explain the Vinaya Pitaka; and the *Abhidarma Vidhâsâ Sâstra*, to explain the Abhidarma Pitaka.

In connection also with Kanishka, our traveller informs us that tributary kings from China sent hostages to that powerful monarch, and he treated them with marked attention, and assigned for their residence the track of the country (between the Ravi and the Sutlej) which became thus known as Chinapati. Houen Tsang visited this country, 400 miles in circuit, with a capital three miles in circuit. The Chinese introduced the pear and the peach into India, "wherefore the peach is called Chinâni, and the pear is called Chinarâjaputra." When the people saw Houen Tsang, they pointed with their fingers, and said one to another, "This man is a native of the country of our former ruler."

Houen Tsang has also something to say about Mihirakula, the great persecutor of Buddhists. "Some centuries ago" Mihirakula established his authority in the town of Sâkala (west of the Ravi). Houen Tsang says that this terrible Mihirakula "issued an edict to destroy all the priests through the five Indies, to overthrow the law of Buddha, and leave nothing remaining." The powerful king attacked Bâlâditya, king of Magadha, but was taken prisoner and was allowed to go, humiliated and disgraced. He returned to Kashmir, rose in rebellion, killed the king, and placed himself on the throne. He conquered

Gândhâra, exterminated the royal family, overthrew Buddhism and Stûpas and monasteries, and killed "three ten myriads of people" on the banks of the Indus. Some allowance must be made for exaggeration on the part of Buddhist chroniclers;—but there can be no doubt that Mihirakula of Kashmir was one of the first and greatest persecutors and destroyers of Buddhists.

Houen Tsang was pleased with the kingdom of SATADRU (Sutlej), 400 miles in circuit, and with a capital town three and a half miles in circuit. The country was rich in cereals and fruits, in gold and silver and precious stones. The people wore rich and elegant garments of bright silk. Their manners were soft and agreeable, they were virtuous, and believed in the law of Buddha. But nevertheless the halls of the Sanghârâmas were deserted and wild, and there were few priests.

The country of MATHURÂ was a thousand miles in circuit, and its chief town was four miles round. The soil was rich and fertile, and the country produced white cotton and yellow gold. The manners of the people were soft and complacent, and they esteemed virtue and honoured learning. There were twenty Sanghârâmas and about 2000 priests. On the six fasting days of each of the three fast months (1st, 5th, and 9th months), the people honoured the Stûpas with offerings. "They spread out their jewelled banners; the rich parasols are crowded together as network; the smoke of incense rises in clouds; the flowers are scattered in every direction like rain; the sun and the moon are concealed as by the clouds which hang over the moist valleys. The king of the country and the great ministers apply themselves to these religious duties with zeal."

The kingdom of THÂNESVARA was 1400 miles in circuit, and its capital was four miles round. The climate was genial, the soil rich and productive, but the people were cold and insincere, and given to luxury.

The capital was near the site of the old Kuru-kshetra battle-field, and our traveller has his version of the story to tell. Two kings divided the five Indies between them, and it was given out that whoever fell in the battle which was to be fought would obtain deliverance. "The two countries engaged in conflict, and the dead bodies were heaped together as sticks, and from that time till now the plains are everywhere covered with their bones."

The kingdom of SRUGHNA (north Doab), bounded by the Ganges to the east and the Himâlayas to the north, was 1200 miles in circuit. Our readers need scarcely be told that this was the land of the ancient Kurus, two thousand years before the time of Houen Tsang. Our traveller was struck by the Ganges with its waves "wide rolling as the sea," and supposed to "wash away countless sins." After describing MATIPURA (west Rohilkund), 1200 miles in circuit, Houen Tsang describes Mayâ-pura, or HARIDVÂRA, the source of the Ganges. The town here was four miles round. "Not far from the town, standing by the Ganges river, is the great Deva temple, where very many miracles of divers sorts are wrought. In the midst of it is a tank, of which the borders are made of stone, joined skilfully together. Through it the Ganges river is led by an artificial canal.* The men of the five Indies call it the gate of the Ganga river (Gangâdvâra). This is where religious merit is found and sin effaced. There are always hundreds and thousands of people gathered together here from distant quarters to bathe and wash in its waters." Already then in the seventh century, Haridvâra was one of the most famed Hindu shrines, and a great gathering place of devout pilgrims.

Our traveller goes right into the sub-Himâlayas, and speaks of a kingdom BRAHMAPURA (identified with Garhwal and Kumaon), which produced gold, and where "for ages a woman has been the ruler, and so it is called the

* The canal still exists.

kingdom of the women. The husband of the reigning woman is called king, but he knows nothing of the affairs of the state. The men manage the wars and sow the land, that is all." This no doubt has reference to an old custom among the hill tribes of the sub-Himâlayan regions. Polyandry prevails among them to this day.

After passing through some other countries, Houen Tsang came to the kingdom of KÂNYAKUBJA, that ancient tract of country which boasted of a civilisation two thousand years old in the time of Houen Tsang. For it was here that the Panchâlas developed their early civilisation when Magadha was still a realm of aboriginal barbarians. And although Magadha eclipsed the glory of its western neighbour under Ajâtasatru and Chandragupta and Asoka the Great, yet, a few centuries after the Christian Era, Kânyakubja seems again to have attained its supremacy, and was a principal seat of the Gupta emperors. And in the time of Houen Tsang, Sîlâditya II., the lord of Northern India, had his court in the ancient town of Kânyakubja.

Houen Tsang found the kingdom of Kânyakubja 800 miles in circuit, and the wealthy capital four miles in length and one in breadth. The city had a moat around it, and strong and lofty towers facing each other. The flowers and woods, the lakes and ponds, bright and pure and shining like a mirror, were seen on every side. Valuable merchandise was collected here in great quantities. The people were well off and contented, the houses were rich and well found. Flowers and fruits abounded in every place, and the land was sown and reaped in due seasons. The climate was agreeable and soft, the manners of the people honest and sincere. They were noble and gracious in appearance. For clothing they used ornamented and bright shining fabrics. They applied themselves much to learning, and in their travels were very much given to discussion on religious subjects. The fame of their pure language was far spread. The

believers in Buddha and the Hindus were equal in number. There were some hundred Sanghârâmas with 10,000 priests. There were 200 Deva temples with several thousand followers.

For once, Houen Tsang departs ftom his usual rule, and gives us some account of the history of the country he visits. He says that Prabhâkara Vardhana was the former king of Kânyakubja, and on his death, his eldest son Râjyavardhana succeeded; but he was defeated, and was killed by Sasânka (Narendra Gupta), king of Karna Suvarna (in Bengal); and his ministers selected his younger brother Harshavardhana, under the title of Sîlâditya, to the throne. Houen Tsang saw this king Sîlâditya, and was kindly received by him. This was Sîlâditya II.; for as we have seen before, and will find again when we come to speak of Malwa, Sîlâditya I. reigned sixty years before the time of Houen Tsang. Sîlâditya II. reigned from 610 to 650 A.D.

Sîlâditya II. was not slow to assert his power. He assembled a body of 5000 elephants, 2000 cavalry, and 50,000 foot, and in six years "he had subdued the five Indies."

He was inclined towards Buddhism, forbade the slaughter of living animals, built Stûpas, and erected hospitals in all the highways throughout India and stationed physicians there, and provided food and drink and medicines. Once in five years he held a great religious assembly,—the quinquennial celebration of the Buddhists, —and gave alms in profusion.

Houen Tsang was staying in the convent of Nâlanda with the Raja of Kâmarûpa, when Sîlâditya sent an order to the Raja,—"I desire you to come at once to the assembly with the strange Srâman you are entertaining at the Nâlanda convent." On this the traveller came with the Raja of Kâmarupa, and was introduced to Sîlâditya. The latter made many inquiries about the country of the traveller, and was well pleased with his replies.

Sîlâditya being about to return to Kânyakubja, convoked a religious assembly, and, followed by hundreds of thousands of people, proceeded by the southern bank of the Ganges, while the Raja of Kâmarûpa proceeded by the northern bank. In ninety days they reached Kânyakubja.

Then the kings of the twenty countries, who had received instructions from Sîlâditya, assembled with the Srâmans and Brâhmans, the most distinguished of their country, with magistrates and soldiers. It was indeed a religious imperial assemblage, and Sîlâditya constructed on the west of the Ganges a great Sanghârâma, and to the east of it a tower 100 feet high, and between them he placed a golden life-size statue of Buddha. From the 1st to the 21st of the month,—the second month of spring,—he fed and feasted the Srâmans and Brâhmans alike. The entire place from the Sanghârâma to the king's temporary palace was decorated with pavilions and stations for musicians, who poured forth music. A small image of Buddha was led forth on a gorgeously caparisoned elephant, Sîlâditya dressed as Indra marching to the left, and the Raja of Kâmarûpa going to the right, each with an escort of 500 war elephants, while a hundred elephants marched in front of the statue. Sîlâditya scattered on every side pearls and various precious substances, with gold and silver flowers. The statue was washed, and Sîlâditya carried it on his own shoulders to the western tower, and bestowed on it silken garments and precious gems. After a feast, the men of learning were assembled, and there was a learned discussion. In the evening the king retired to his temporary palace.

In this way the statue was carried every day, and at length, on the day of separation, a great fire broke out in the tower. If Houen Tsang can be relied on, the Brâhmans, envious of the king's leaning towards Buddhism, had not only set fire to the tower, but had actually attempted to have him murdered. But Houen Tsang

was a staunch Buddhist, and his charges against Brâhmans must be accepted with caution.

The account given above shows us the kind of supremacy which the Emperor of India assumed over the kings and chiefs of the numerous states into which India was always divided. It further shows us that Buddhism had degenerated into idolatry, and gives an idea of the pomp and circumstance with which Buddhist festivals were celebrated, and which have been borrowed by later Hinduism. It also shows us that princes and kings, whether they leaned towards the Buddhist or the Hindu religion, took a pleasure in honouring the learned and religious men of both sects, and that controversies between the two sects were generally of a friendly character. And lastly, it shows us with what jealous impatience the Brâhmans at the close of the Buddhist Period watched the triumphs of Buddhism, a religion which they contrived finally to overcome in another century or two.

Our traveller found the kingdom of AYODHYÂ a thousand miles in circuit, and abounding in cereals, flowers, and fruits. The climate was temperate and agreeable, and the manners of the people virtuous and amiable. As elsewhere, the people were partly Hindus and partly Buddhists, and there were 100 Sanghârâmas and 3000 monks in the country.

Passing through the HAYAMUKHA kingdom, Houen Tsang came to PRAYÂGA or Allahabad. The kingdom was a thousand miles in circuit, the produce of the land was abundant, and fruits grew in great luxuriance. The people were gentle and compliant, and fond of learning; but Buddhism was not honoured here, and a large proportion of the people were orthodox Hindus. Houen Tsang speaks of the great tree of Allahabad, which is still shown to visitors as the Akshaya Bata or the immortal fig-tree.

"At the confluence of the two rivers, every day there are many hundreds of men who bathe themselves and

die. The people of this country consider that whoever wishes to be born in heaven ought to fast to a grain of rice, and then drown himself in the waters." There was also a high column in the middle of the river, and people went up this column to gaze on the setting sun until it had gone under the horizon.

KAUSAMBI, where Gautama had often preached, was still a flourishing place. The kingdom was 1200 miles in circuit; rice and sugar cane grew plentifully; and the people, though said to be rough and hard in their manners, were earnest and religious.

SRÂVASTI, the ancient capital of Kosala, where Gautama had preached, was deserted and in ruins. The country was 1200 miles in circuit, and the people were honest and pure in manners, and fond of religion and learning.

KAPILAVASTU, the birthplace of Gautama, was in ruins. There were some ten deserted towns in the country, which was 800 miles in circuit. The royal palace, in ruins, was three miles round, and was of brick. There was no king in the country, each town appointed its own ruler, and the manners of the people were soft and obliging.

KUSHINAGARA, where Gautama died, was similarly in ruins, and the brick foundations of the old walls were two miles in circuit.

BENARES, like Allahabad, like Hurdwar, was a tower of strength for Hinduism, even in the days of Houen Tsang. The country was 800 miles in circuit, and the capital was nearly four miles by one mile. The families were rich, and possessed in their dwellings objects of rare value. The people were soft and humane in disposition and were given to study; most of them were Hindus, a few reverenced the law of Buddha. There were in the country thirty Sanghârâmas with about 3000 priests, but about a hundred temples of Devas with 10,000 sectaries. The god Mahesvara was chiefly worshipped

in Benares. Some cut off their hair and went naked, and covered their bodies with ashes, and by the practice of all kinds of austerities sought to escape future births.

In the town of Benares there were twenty Deva temples, the towers and halls of which were of sculptured stone and carved wood. Trees shaded the temples, and pure streams of water encircled them. There was a copper statue of Mahesvare 100 feet high. "Its appearance is grave and majestic, and appears as though really living."

To the north-east of the town was a Stûpa, and in front of it a stone pillar, bright and shining as a mirror, its surface glistening and smooth as ice. About two miles from the River Varanâ was the great Sanghârâma of the "Deer Park." Buddha had first proclaimed his religion in this deer park. The Sanghârâma was divided into eight portions, and the storeyed towers, with projecting caves and balconies, were of very superior work. In the great enclosure there was a Vihâra 200 feet high, and above the roof was a golden covered figure of the mango fruit. The foundations of the Vihâra were of stone, but the towers and stairs were of brick. In the middle of the Vihâra was a life-size figure of Buddha, represented as turning the wheel of law. A fit representation, on the very spot where the great preacher had set the wheel of his religion rolling.

Passing through other places, Houen Tsang came to VAISÂLI, 1300 miles round, but the capital of the country was in ruins. The soil of the country was rich and fertile, the mango and the banana were plentiful, the climate was agreeable and temperate, and the people were pure and honest. Hindus and Buddhists lived together. The Sanghârâmas were mostly in ruins, and the three or four which remained had but few monks in them. The Deva temples were many.

Houen Tsang speaks separately of the kingdom of the Vajjians, 800 miles in circuit; but originally the

Lichchavis and the Vajjians were the same, or rather the Lichchavis formed one of the eight Vajjian tribes. It is scarely necessary to add that Houen Tsang speaks also of the Council of Vaisâli, which, according to him, took place 110 years after the death of Gautama, and the Council "bound afresh the rules that had been broken, and vindicated the holy law."

Our traveller then paid a visit to NEPAL, and was not favourably impressed with the people. Their manners, he says, were false and perfidious, and their temperament hard and fierce, with little regard to truth or honour; and their appearance was ungainly and revolting. From Nepal, Houen Tsang returned to Vaisâli, and thence crossing the Ganges to the country of Magadha, which for him was replete with holy associations. No less than two books out of his twelve books are devoted to the legends and sights and holy relics which the pilgrim found in Magadha.

The kingdom of MAGADHA was 1000 miles in circuit. The walled cities had few inhabitants, but the towns were thickly populated. The soil was rich, and produced grains in abundance. The country was low and damp, and towns were therefore built on uplands. The whole country was flooded in the rains, and communication was kept up by boats. The people were simple and honest; they esteemed learning, and revered the religion of Buddha. There were fifty Sanghârâmas with 10,000 monks, and ten Deva temples with numerous followers.

The old town of PÂTALIPUTRA, which was still inhabited when Fa Hian visited it, was now entirely deserted, the foundation walls only being visible. The traveller has much to say about Asoka and his half-brother Mahendra, about the Buddhist writers Nâgârjuna and Asvaghosha, and about the numerous Stûpas and Vihâras and sites connected with Buddha's life which he saw; but we pass them by. He went to GAYÂ, which had a thousand families of Brâhmans only for its inhabi-

tants. Thence he went to the famous Bodhi Tree, and to the neighbouring Vihâra, 160 or 170 feet high, and covered with beautiful ornamental work, "in one place figures of stringed pearls, in another figures of heavenly Rishis," and the whole being surrounded by a gilded copper Âmalaka fruit. Not far from this was the grander structure of the Mahâbodhi Sanghârâma, built by a king of Ceylon. It had six walls, with towers of observation three storeys high, and was surrounded by a wall of defence thirty or forty feet high.

"The utmost skill of the artist has been employed; the ornamentation is in the richest colours. The statue of Buddha is cast of gold and silver, decorated with gems and precious stones. The Stûpas are high and large in proportion, and beautifully ornamented."

The entire place near the Bodhi Tree was considered sacred by Buddhists in Houen Tsang's time, and as long as Buddhism prevailed in India. "Every year when the Bhikshus break up their yearly rest of the rains religious persons come here from every quarter in thousands and myriads, and during seven days and nights they scatter flowers, burn incense, and sound music as they wander through the district and pay their worship and present their offerings." Buddhist celebrations are now a thing of the past in India; and it is important for the historian to note, from the pages of contemporaneous witnesses, that those celebrations were in their day marked with as much pomp and circumstance, and as much joyousness and outward demonstration, as the Hindu festivals of later times.

Houen Tsang came to RÂJAGRIHA, the old capital of Magadha at the time of Ajâtasatru and Bimbisara. The outer walls of the city had been destroyed, the inner walls still remained, in a ruined state, and were four miles round. The traveller visited the great cave or stone house in which the first Council was held immediately after the death of Gautama. Kâsyapa was the president

of the Council, and said, "Let Ânanda who ever heard the words of Tathâgata, collect by singing through the *Sûtra Pitaka*. Let Upâli who clearly understands the rules of discipline, and is well-known to all who know, collect the *Vinaya Pitaka;* and I Kâsyapa will collect the *Abhidarma Pitaka*. The three months of rain being past, the collection of the *Tripitaka* was finished."

Our traveller now came to the great NÂLANDA university, if we may call it by that name. The monks of this place, to the number of several thousands, were men of the highest ability, talent, and distinction. "The countries of India respect them and follow them. The day is not sufficient for asking and answering profound questions. From morning till night they engage in discussion; the old and the young mutually help one another. Those who cannot discuss questions out of the *Tripitaka* are little esteemed, and are obliged to hide themselves for shame. Learned men from different cities, on this account, who desire to acquire quickly a renown in discussion, come here in multitudes to settle their doubts, and then the streams (of their wisdom) spread far and wide. For this reason some persons usurp the name (of Nâlanda students) and in going to and fro receive honour in consequence."

Dr. Fergusson justly remarks that what Cluny and Clairvaux were to France in the Middle Ages, Nâlanda was to Central India, the depository of true learning, the centre from which it spread over to other lands. And "as in all instances connected with the strange parallelism which existed between the two religions, the Buddhists kept five centuries in advance of the Christians in the invention and use of all the ceremonies and forms common to both the religions."*

The great Vihâra of Nâlanda, where the university was located, was worthy of it. It is said that four kings, viz., Sakrâditya, Buddhagupta, Tathâgatagupta, and

* *Indian and Eastern Architecture*, London, 1876, p. 137.

Bâlâditya successively laboured at this great architectural work, and when it was completed men came from a distance of 2000 miles at the great assembly that was held. Many other Vihâras were built in the vicinity by succeeding kings. One great Vihâra, built by Bâlâditya, was conspicuous among them. It was 300 feet high, and "with respect to its magnificence, its dimensions, and the statue of Buddha placed in it, it resembles the great Vihâra built under the Bodhi Tree."

Leaving Magadha, Houen Tsang came to the kingdom of Hiranya Parvata, which General Cunningham identifies with MONGHYR. The kingdom was 600 miles round, the soil was largely cultivated and rich in its produce, the climate was agreeable, and the people simple and honest. By the side of the capital were the hot springs of Monghyr, which gave out volumes of smoke and vapour.

CHAMPÂ, the ancient capital of Anga or East Behar, was situated near modern Bhagalpur. The kingdom was 800 miles in circuit, the soil level and fertile and regularly cultivated, the temperature was mild and warm, and the manners of the people were simple and honest. The walls of the capital were several tens of feet high, and the foundations of the wall were raised on a lofty embankment, so that by their high escarpment, they could defy the attack of their enemies.

Passing through other places, our traveller came to PUNDRA or Pundra Vardhana, corresponding with Northern Bengal. The kingdom is described as 800 miles in circuit, and was thickly populated. The tanks and public offices and flowering woods were regularly connected at intervals. The soil was flat and loamy, and rich in all kinds of grain produce. The bread fruit, though plentiful, was highly esteemed. There were about twenty Sanghârâmas and 300 priests, and some hundred Deva temples with sectaries of various schools. The naked Nirgranthas were the most numerous.

To the east, and beyond a great river (the Brahmaputra) was the powerful kingdom of KÂMARÛPA, 2000 miles in circuit. It apparently included in those times modern Assam, Manipur, and Kachar, Mymensing and Sylhet. The soil was rich and was cultivated, and grew cocoanuts and bread fruit in abundance. Water led from rivers or banked-up reservoirs flowed round towns. The climate was soft and temperate, the manners of the people simple and honest. The men were of small stature, of a dark yellow complexion, and spoke a language different from that of Mid-India. They were, however, impetuous, with very retentive memories, and very earnest in their studies.

The people had no faith in Buddha, and adored and sacrificed to the Devas, and there were about a hundred Deva temples. Of Buddhist Sanghârâmas, there were none. The king was a Brâhman by caste, Bhâskara Varman by name, and had the title of Kumâra. Our readers will remember that Houen Tsang was introduced by this king to the great Sîlâditya of Kanouj.

South of the Kâmarûpa kingdom was SAMATATA (*literally* level country) or East Bengal. The kingdom was 600 miles in circuit; the lands were low and rich and regularly cultivated, and produced crops and fruits in plenty. The capital was four miles in circuit. The men were small in stature and black in complexion, but hardy, and fond of learning and diligent in its acquisition; —a description which applies to the people of East Bengal to the present day. There were some thirty Sanghârâmas and about 2000 monks, and some hundred Deva temples. The naked ascetic Nirgranthas were numerous.

Next to Samatata was the kingdom of TÂMRALIPTI, *i.e.*, Tumlook country or South-West Bengal, including modern Midnapur. The country was 300 miles in circuit, and the capital was a seaport. The people were hardy and brave, but quick and hasty. The coast of the country was formed by a recess of the sea, and wonderful

articles of value and gems were collected here, and the people were rich. There were ten Sanghârâmas and fifty Deva temples.

Houen Tsang then speaks of the KARNA SUVARNA kingdom, supposed to be Western Bengal, including modern Murshedabad. We have seen that it was Sasânka, the king of this country, who defeated and killed the elder brother of the great Sîlâditya of Kanouj. The country was 300 miles in circuit and thickly populated, and the people were fond of learning, and honest and amiable. The soil was regularly cultivated, and the climate was agreeable. There were ten Sanghârâmas and fifty Deva temples.

The reader will perceive from the foregoing account that Bengal proper (*i.e.*, excluding Behar and Orissa) was divided in those days into five great kingdoms. Northern Bengal was *Pundra;* Assam and the North-East formed *Kâmarûpa;* Eastern Bengal was *Samatata;* South-West Bengal was *Tâmralipti;* and Western Bengal was *Karna Suvarna.* Houen Tsang's account of Northern India ends with Bengal; we will now accompany our esteemed guide to Southern India.

The kingdom of Udra or ORISSA was 1400 miles in circuit, and had its capital near modern Jajpur, five miles round. The soil was rich and fertile, and produced every variety of grain and many strange shrubs and flowers. The people, however, were uncivilised, of a yellowish black complexion, and spoke a language different from that of Central India. They were, however, fond of learning, and their country was a stronghold of Buddhism, declining elsewhere in India. It had some hundred Sanghârâmas with about 10,000 monks, and only fifty Deva temples.

Already Orissa was a great place of pilgrimage, though the temple of Puri had not yet been built. There was a Sanghârâma called Pushpagiri on a great mountain on the south-west frontiers of the country, and it is said a stone Stûpa of this Sanghârâma emitted a strange light.

Buddhists from far and near came to this place and presented beautifully embroidered umbrellas, and placed them under a vase at the top of the cupola, and let them stand as needles in the stone. The custom of planting flags prevails in Jagannâtha to the present day.

To the south-east there was a great seaport called Charitra. "Here it is that merchants depart for distant countries, and strangers come and go and stop here on their way. The walls of the city are strong and lofty. Here are found all sorts of rare and precious articles."

South-west of Orissa was the kingdom of KÂNYODHA, on the Chilka Lake. The people were brave and impulsive, but black and dirty. They had some degree of politeness and were tolerably honest, and used the same written characters as in Mid-India, but their pronunciation was quite different. Buddhism was not much followed here; Hinduism prevailed.

The nation was a powerful one; their cities were strong and high, their soldiers brave and daring, and they ruled neighbouring provinces by force, and no one could resist them. As their country bordered on the sea, the people obtained many rare and valuable articles, and used cowrie shells and pearls in commercial transactions. Elephants were used in drawing conveyances.

To the south-west of this, and beyond a vast jungle, lay the ancient kingdom of KALINGA. The kingdom was 1000 miles in circuit, and its capital five miles round. The soil was fertile and regularly cultivated, but there were many jungles with wild elephants in them. The people, though impetuous and rough and uncivilised, were trustworthy and kept their word.

Such was Kalinga when Houen Tsang saw it, but our readers will remember that in the time of Megasthenes the power and the empire of Kalinga stretched along the entire seaboard from Bengal to the mouths of the Godâvarî. The memory of its greatness still survived, for

Houen Tsang says: "In old days the kingdom of Kalinga had a very dense population; their shoulders rubbed one with the other, and the axles of their chariot wheels girded together." But the palmy days of Kalinga were gone, and new kingdoms in Bengal and Orissa had arisen out of the fragments of their ancient empire. Such has always been the history of India. Kingdoms and races have risen in power and civilisation and declined again by turns; but still the vast confederation of Hindu nations had a political unity, a cohesion in religion, language, and civilisation, which made India one great country in ancient times.

To the north-west of Kalinga, through forests and crags, the way lay to Kosala, corresponding to modern BERAR. The kingdom was 1000 miles round, and the capital eight miles. The towns and villages were close together, and the population was dense. The people were tall, black, violent, impetuous, and brave, and were partly Buddhists and partly Hindus. In connection with these southern Kosalas (who must be distinguished from those of Oude), Houen Tsang speaks of the famous Buddhist writer Nâgârjuna, and of the king Sadvaha, who tunnelled out a rock and fixed therein a Sanghârâma for his dwelling. Neither Fa Hian nor Houen Tsang personally visited this rock-cut monastery, but both speak of it, and it must have been very celebrated in their times. The king Sadvaha, we are told, "tunnelled out this rock through the middle, and built and fixed therein a Sanghârâma. At a distance of some 10 li (two miles), by tunnelling, he opened a covered way. Thus by standing under the rock we see the cliffs excavated throughout, and in the midst of long galleries, with caves for walking under and high towers, the storeyed building reaching to the height of five stages, each stage with four halls, with Vihâras enclosed." We are told that in this Sanghârâma the Buddhist priests fell out among themselves, and went away to the king, and the Brâhmans took advantage of

this, and destroyed the Sanghârâma and barricaded the place.

Our traveller next came to the ancient country of the ANDHRAS, who had developed their civilisation and extended their empire in Southern India several centuries before Christ, and who had at a later period held the supreme power in Magadha and in India. The Guptas and the Ujjayinî kings had since assumed that supremacy, and the Andhras of the seventh century were a feeble power. Their kingdom was only 600 miles in circuit, and was regularly cultivated. The people were fierce and impulsive. There were twenty Sanghârâmas and thirty Deva temples.

South of this country was Dhanakataka or the GREAT ANDHRA country, 1200 miles in circuit, with a capital town eight miles round, which has been identified with modern Bejwada. The soil was rich and produced abundant harvests, but there was much desert in the country, and the towns were thinly populated. The people were yellowish-black, fierce and impulsive, but fond of learning. The old monasteries were mostly deserted and in ruins; only about ninety were inhabited, while a hundred Deva temples had numerous followers.

Houen Tsang speaks of two great monasteries, to the east and to the west of the city, called Pûrvasilâ and Aparasilâ, built by a former king in honour of Buddha. "He hollowed the valley, made a road, opened the mountain crags, constructed pavilions and long galleries; and wide chambers supported the heights and connected the caverns. . . . But for the last hundred years there have been no priests." Dr. Fergusson identifies the western convent with the great Amarâvatî tope which has been discovered and excavated since 1796 A.D. Dr. Burgess concludes, from an inscription on the stones, that the Amarâvatî Stûpa was either already built or was being built in the second century A.D., if not earlier.

South-west from Great Andhra was the kingdom of

CHOLA, 500 miles in circuit, but deserted and wild. The population was sparse, troops of brigands ravaged the open country, and the people were dissolute and cruel.

Further to the south was the kingdom of DRÂVIDA, 1200 miles in circuit, with its capital, the famed town of Kânchî or Kânchîpura, which has been identified with modern Conjiveram. The soil was fertile and regularly cultivated, and the people were brave, truthful, honest, and fond of learning, and used the language of Middle India. There were some hundred Sanghârâmas and 10,000 priests.

Further south from Drâvida was the kingdom of MALAKÛTA, which Dr. Burnell identifies with the delta of the Kâverî river. The men were dark in complexion, firm and impetuous, not fond of learning, but wholly given to commercial pursuits. South of this country were the famed Malaya mountains, the southern portions of the Malabar Ghats, which produced sandal-wood and camphor. To the east of this range was Mount Potalaka, where the Buddhist spirit or saint Avalokitesvara, worshipped by Northern Buddhists in Thibet, China, and Japan, was supposed sometimes to take his abode.

Houen Tsang did not visit CEYLON, but nevertheless gives an account of that island, with its rich vegetation, its extensive cultivation, and its teeming population. He narrates legends about Sinha or lion, about Râkshassas, and about Mahendra the brother of Asoka, who introduced Buddhism into the island; and there were 100 convents and 20,000 priests in Houen Tsang's time. He speaks of the coast as being rich in gems and precious stones, and of Mount Lankâ, to the south-east of the island.

Travelling northwards from Drâvida, Houen Tsang came to KONKAN, 10,000 miles in circuit, fertile, and regularly cultivated. The people were black, fierce and ardent in disposition, but esteemed learning.

North-west from Konkan, and across a great forest infested by wild beasts and robbers, was the great country

of MAHÂRÂSHTRA, 1000 miles in circuit. The soil was rich and regularly cultivated, and the people were honest, but stern and vindictive. "To their benefactors they are grateful, to their enemies relentless. If they are insulted, they will risk their lives to avenge themselves. If they are asked to help one in distress, they will forget themselves in their haste to render assistance. If they are going to seek revenge, they first give their enemy warning, then, each being armed, they attack each other with spears. If a general loses a battle, they do not inflict punishment, but present him with woman's clothes, and so he is driven to seek death for himself. . . . The king is of the Kshatriya caste, and his name is Pulakesi. His plans and undertakings are widespread, and his beneficent actions are felt over a great distance. His subjects obey him with perfect submission. At the present time Sîlâditya Mahârâjâ (of Kanouj) has conquered the nations from east to west, and carried his arms to remote districts, but the people of this country alone have not submitted to him. He has gathered troops from the five Indies, and summoned the best leaders from all countries, and himself gone at the head of his army to punish and subdue these people, but he has not yet conquered their troops." Nor was Sîlâditya destined to conquer Pulakesi, who defeated him in battle, and maintained the independence of the proud Maharattas; even as a successor of Pulakesi, a thousand years later, defied Aurungzebe, the Emperor of Northern India, and restored to the Maharattas their lost independence and greatness. And when Mogul and Rajput had alike declined in power, it was the countrymen of Pulakesi who struggled with the English for the mastery of India.

On the eastern frontier of the Mahârâshtra country was a great mountain, with towering crags and a continuous stretch of piled up and scarped precipice. "In this there is a Sanghârâma constructed in a dark valley. Its lofty halls and deep side-aisles stretch through the

face of the rocks. Storey above storey they are backed by the crag and face the valley." This is the famous Ajanta system of caves, cut in the lofty and almost perpendicular rocks that hem in a wild secluded glen. Modern readers have been made familiar with this most wonderful work of architecture through the plates and descriptions of Fergusson and Burgess. Houen Tsang says further on that the great Vihâra was about 100 feet high, and in the middle was a stone figure of Buddha 70 feet high. Above was a stone canopy of seven stages, towering upwards apparently without support.

To the west or north-west from Mahârâshtra was the country of Bharukachha or Broach, 500 miles in circuit. The soil was impregnated with salt, trees were scattered and scarce, and the people boiled sea water to manufacture salt, and had all their gain from the sea.

Thence Houen Tsang went to the classic land of MÂLAVA. "Two countries," he says, "are remarkable for the great learning of the people—Mâlava on the southwest, and Maghada on the north-east." Further on Houen Tsang says, "The records of the country state: Sixty years before this flourished Sîlâditya, a man of eminent wisdom and great learning; his skill in literature was profound." This was Sîlâditya I., who reigned probably from 550 A.D. to 600 A.D., and was probably the immediate successor of Vikramâditya the Great. The prince whom Houen Tsang saw in Kanouj, and who was trying to humiliate and subjugate Pulakesi and the Maharattas, was Sîlâditya II., who reigned from about 610 to 650 A.D.

In Mâlava both the religions prevailed in Houen Tsang's time, and there were about a hundred Sanghârâmas and a hundred Deva temples.

Houen Tsang then visited ATALI and Kachha or CUTCH, and then came to VALABHI, the seat of the great Valabhi dynasty. "The character of the soil, the climate, and the manners of the people are like those of the

kingdom of Mâlava. The population is dense; the establishments rich. There are some hundred families who possess a hundred lakhs."

After visiting SAURÂSHTRA and GURJARA, SINDH and MULTAN, the great traveller left India. But before we take leave of him, we must make a few more extracts from his diary, describing the administration of the country and the manners of the people.

"As the administration of the country is conducted on benign principles, the executive is simple. . . . The private demesnes of the crown are divided into four principal parts; the first is for carrying out the affairs of state and providing sacrificial offerings; the second is for providing subsidies for the ministers and chief officers of state; the third is for rewarding men of distinguished ability; and the fourth is for charity to religious bodies, whereby the field of merit is cultivated. In this way the taxes on the people are light, and the personal service required of them is moderate. Each one keeps his own worldly goods in peace, and all till the ground for their subsistence. Those who cultivate the royal estates pay a sixth part of the produce as tribute. The merchants who engage in commerce come and go in carrying out their transactions. The river passages and the road barriers are open on payment of a small toll. When the public works require it, labour is exacted, but paid for. The payment is in strict proportion to the work done.

"The military guard the frontiers or go out to punish the refractory. They also mount guard at night round the palace. The soldiers are levied according to the requirements of the service; they are promised certain payments, and are publicly enrolled. The governors, ministers, magistrates, and officials have each a portion of land consigned to them for their personal support."

It will be seen from the above account that, according to the ancient custom of India, all the officials were paid by assignments of land. What Houen Tsang calls the

king's private estates was, in fact, the entire kingdom, except such villages and lands as were given away in perpetuity to private persons, to temples or monasteries, or such other lands as were assigned to officials. All the expenses of the state, in peace and war, and those of the royal household were defrayed from the proceeds of the king's estates and of taxes.

With regard to the manners of the people, Houen Tsang bears honourable testimony to their simplicity and their rectitude. "Although," says the traveller, "they they are naturally light-minded, yet they are upright and honourable. In money matters they are without craft, and in administering justice they are considerate. They dread the retribution of another state of existence, and make light of the things of the present world. They are not deceitful or treacherous in their conduct, and are faithful to their oaths and promises."

Such has been the candid opinion of all observant travellers, from the time of Megasthenes downwards, who have seen the Hindus in their homes and villages, mixed with them in their everyday work, and entered into their daily transactions. Such an observer was Colonel Sleeman among the modern Englishmen who have lived in India and mixed with the people. Villagers, says the Colonel, adhere habitually to the truth in their own Pauchyets; and "I have had before me hundreds of cases in which a man's property, liberty, and life has depended upon his telling a lie, and he has refused to tell it."

CHAPTER III.

THE VALABHIS AND THE RAJPUTS.

GUJRAT was subject to the Gupta emperors during the palmy days of that dynasty; and when, in the latter half of the fifth century, the Valabhis of Gujrat rose to independence and power, they naturally adopted the Gupta Era, reckoned from 319 A.D. When the power of the Guptas, then emperors of India, was slowly decaying, an enterprising military commander, Senâpati Bhatarka by name, asserted his independence in Gujrat, and was the founder of the Valabhi dynasty of Saurâshtra.

The genealogy and history of the Valabhi family are elucidated by numerous inscriptions which have been discovered. Among the earliest of them are two copper-plates which were found over fifty years ago in making excavations in Gujrat.* They were published by W. H. Wathen in 1835, and are of considerable importance.

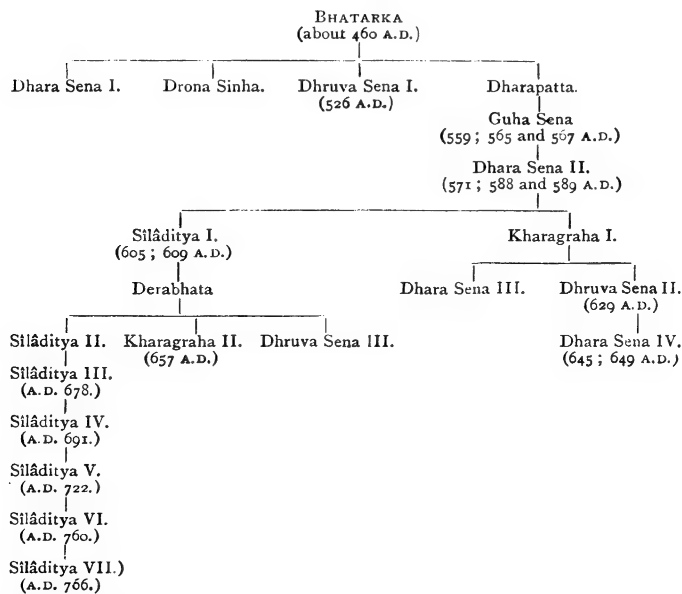
Senâpati Bhatarka, the originator of the family, is stated to have "earned glory in hundreds of battles fought in the countries of his foes," and must have been, like all beginners of dynasties, a great warrior and able administrator. He had four sons, Dharasena, Dronasinha, Dhruvasena, and Dharapatta. The first of these brothers is styled Senâpati, and had apparently not yet assumed the title of king; but his younger brother "received his inauguration to the throne from the great sovereign himself" (probably of Kanouj), and is styled Srî Mahârâja Dronasinha. His two brothers are similarly styled Srî Mahârâja Dhruvasena and Srî Mahârâja Dharapatta.

* See Prinsep's Essays, ed. Thomas, vol. i. p. 252, *et seq.*

Dharapatta's son was Guha Sena, "the destroyer of multitudes of foes," and his son Dhara Sena II. made the gift.

In the second plate published by Wathen, the successors of Dhara Sena II. are called Sîlâditya Khara Graha, Dhara Sena III., Dhruva Sena II., Dhara Sena IV., Sîlâditya II. (two or three names illegible here), Khara Graha II., Sîlâditya III., and Sîlâditya IV.

An inscription* discovered by Hariballabh in 1878 brings down the list of kings to Sîlâditya VII., who reigned at the close of the eighth century. We have thus in a single inscription a complete list of the kings of this dynasty for three centuries, from Bhatarka, who commenced the line in the latter half of the fifth century, to Sîlâditya VII., who reigned in the latter half of the eighth century. The genealogical table and dates given below will show the names at a glance :—



* *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, vol. iii.; Texts, &c., p. 171.

We have only to add that when Houen Tsang visited Valabhi, he found the people a rich, powerful, and flourishing nation, holding Saurâshtra under subjection. Rich and valuable products of distant regions were stored within their capital in great quantities, and showed the brisk maritime trade which the Valabhis carried on. The decline of this great people is involved in mystery, but there can be little doubt that the Rajputs arose in power and glory in Western India as the Valabhis declined.

For many reasons the Rajputs may be considered the successors of the Valabhis to supreme power in Western India, as the Valabhis themselves were the successors of the Guptas. And the haughtiest of the Rajputs, viz., the Ranas of Mewar, traced a fictitious descent from the Valabhis. While the Rajputs immediately succeeded the Valabhis in Guzrat, and Puttun arose as Valabhipur declined in the latter half of the eighth century, there was no such continuity in the history of Northern India. There, the great dynasties of Ujjayinî and Kanouj disappear from view, as we have seen before, about the middle of the eighth century. From that time to the tenth century, the history of Northern India is an absolute blank. We have accounts of the Chalukyians in the South, of the kings of Kashmir in the extreme North-West, of those of Bengal and Orissa in the extreme East; but the centre of Hindu civilisation and culture, the Madhyadesa stretching from Kanouj to Magadha, has no history! No dynasty rose to sufficient distinction to leave a record, no event transpired which lived in the traditions or writings of the people, no great invasions or great revolutions took place of which any trace can be found. These two centuries have left us no literature to speak of, as we have seen in the last chapter, and no great works of art or industry in the shape of buildings in Northern India. A mysterious cloud hangs over these dark centuries, which historians have not yet been able to lift.

When the dark and impenetrable cloud is removed at the close of the tenth century, we find new actors and new scenes. Puranic Hinduism is supreme in India, and its supremacy is contemporaneous with the political supremacy of a new and brave nation, the Rajputs. The Rajputs have issued out of their kingdoms in Gujrat and Southern India, and are the masters in Delhi, in Kanouj, in Ajmir, in the most distant parts of India! Everywhere they favoured Puranic Hinduism. And the Brâhmans rewarded them for their toil, and recognised the new race as the Kshatriyas of modern times.

From these results, then, we are enabled to know the history of the two dark centuries, from the eighth to the tenth. That unhappy period was a period of internecine wars, and of the crumbling down of old institutions and dynasties. Ancient houses fell, from senile decay or through violence; a new and sturdy race stepped forward in their places. It was a repetition of a scene which had taken place at least once before in the history of India. Thus, in the fourth century before Christ the vigorous and young Magadhas, considered in the Epic Age as outside the pale of Aryans, rose in power, extended their conquests, and established their supremacy over the ancient kingdoms of the Kâsîs, the Kosalas, the Kurus, and the Panchâlas. And when Megasthenes came to India, he found the Prâchyas or Magadhas supreme in Northern India. In the same way, during the obscure eighth to tenth centuries A.D., the Rajput races, scarcely considered within the pale of Aryan Hindus before, stepped forward in the midst of the struggle of races and nations, and, by their superior might and bravery, made room for themselves on the empty thrones of Kanouj, Delhi, Lahore, and other places. As in the fourth century B.C., so in the tenth century A.D., it was not a question of dynastic supremacy, but of racial supremacy,—a new, brave, and vigorous race stepping

forward in each case to the places vacated by ancient and cultured but effete races. And as if to make the parallel complete, each political revolution was accompanied by a religious revolution. The spread of the Magadha power over the ancient and cultured races of India facilitated the spread of a new religion like Buddhism against the ancient and learned creed of the land. And the rise of the Rajputs finally secured the triumph of Puranic Hinduism in India.

We have, in the Introduction to this work, seen that the History of Europe from the fifth to the tenth century A.D., affords a still more remarkable parallel to the history of India from the eighth to the tenth century. Both in Europe and in India, ancient rule and ancient institutions were destroyed; new races asserted their rule and their authority over the land; and these new races, again,—the German masters of Europe and the Rajput masters of India,—had to face the rising power of the Mussalmans. Europe maintained her independence; India struggled, but fell.

We have seen that the Rajputs were scarcely reckoned among Aryan Hindus before the eighth century. We find no mention of their name in the literature of the country or in the records of foreign travellers, and no traces of their previous culture. Conjectures have been made as to their origin. Dr. H. H. Wilson has held that they were the descendants of the Sakas and other invaders who swarmed into India for centuries before the time of Vikramâditya, who were defeated by that king, but nevertheless spread themselves and settled down in India, specially in Western and Southern India. Dark hints are thrown out in the Purânas to indicate that the Rajputs were new comers. Thus the primitive Parihara, Pramara, Chalukya, and Chohan races are fabled to have sprung from four warriors conjured into existence by the sage Vasishtha, from a sacrificial fire he had kindled on Mount Abu. And the thirty-six Rajput

tribes are said to have been derived from these four primitive races.

The Chalukyas established themselves in Gujrat, founded the new capital Pattan, and indeed usurped the supreme power so long held by the Valabhis. The Parihara branch settled down in Marwar, the Pramaras established themselves in Western Malwa, and the Chohans came more to the east towards Delhi and Ajmir. There were other Rajput tribes for whom other descents have been imagined. Thus the Ghelote Ranas of Mewar claimed descent from Râma, through the Valabhi princes of Gujrat. There is a tradition, on the other hand, connecting the Rathores of Marwar with Hiranya Kasipu of Indian mythology.

Whatever the origin of the Rajputs may be, there is no doubt that they were new comers within the pale of Hindu civilisation and religion. Like all new converts, they were fired with an excessive zeal to revive the religion they embraced. Brâhmans worked on the zeal of this new race of Kshatriyas, and the Chohan and the Rathore vindicated their claims to be regarded as Kshatriyas by establishing the supremacy of Brâhmans. By the close of the tenth century, Puranic Hinduism was everywhere re-established and triumphant, and Kanouj and Mathura, and a hundred other towns, were beautified with those noble buildings and temples which struck the Sultan of Ghazni, early in the next century.

CHAPTER IV.

BENGAL AND ORISSA.

IN the second or Epic Period, the kingdoms of Magadha and Anga, *i.e.*, South and East Behar, were scarcely yet within the Aryan pale. It was in the Rationalistic Period, after 1000 B.C., that Magadha became completely Aryanised, and rose in power and civilisation, until it eclipsed and even subdued the more ancient Aryan kingdoms in the Gangetic valley. And it was then, probably in the fifth century B.C., that Bengal proper and Orissa received from the flourishing kingdom of Magadha the first rays of Aryan civilisation.

In the fourth century B.C., when the Greeks visited India, they found powerful kingdoms founded in Bengal and Orissa, which they called by the general name of Kalinga. In the third century B.C., Kalinga was conquered by Asoka the Great, as we learn from his inscriptions, and this conquest probably facilitated the spread of Buddhism in these provinces, and also brought Bengal and Orissa in closer connection with the civilisation of Northern India.

Slowly and obscurely Bengal rose in importance and in civilisation, and by the close of the Buddhist Period, Bengal was a recognised power in India. Sasânka (Narendra Gupta) king of Karna Suvarna, near Gaur, defeated and killed in war the elder brother of the great Sîlâditya about the commencement of the seventh century; and when about 640 A.D. Houen Tsang came to Bengal, he found civilised and powerful kingdoms in

Pundra or Northern Bengal, Samatata or Eastern Bengal, Kâmarûpa or Assam, and Tâmralipti or Southern Bengal, as well as in Karna Suvarna or Western Bengal. These kingdoms correspond roughly with the present Rajshahi, Dacca, Assam, Burdwan, and Presidency divisions. Houen Tsang's account of these kingdoms has been given elsewhere, and need not be repeated here.

After this, we hear of Bengal again in the ninth century.

A number of copperplate grants which have been discovered in recent times show that races of kings known as the Pâla kings and Sena kings ruled in Bengal for about three centuries before the Mahommedan conquest. Dr. Rajendra Lala Mitra has carefully condensed and arranged the information on this subject in his essay on the Pâla and Sena Dynasties, now published in the second volume of his *Indo-Aryans*, and we take the following lists from that essay. It will be seen Dr. Mitra allows generally an average of twenty years for each reign:—

PALA KINGS.
In Western and Northern Bengal.

		A.D.
I.	Gopâla	855
II.	Dharmapâla	875
III.	Devapâla	895
IV.	Vigrahapâla	915
V.	Nârâyanapâla	935
VI.	Râjapâla	955
VII.	—— Pâla	975
VIII.	Vigrahapâla II.	995
IX.	Mahîpâla	1015
X.	Nayapâla	1040

(Expelled from Bengal by the Senas.)

SENA KINGS.
In Eastern and Littoral Bengal.

		A.D.
I.	Vîra Sena	986
II.	Sâmanta Sena	1006
III.	Hemanta Sena	1026
	In the whole of Bengal.	
IV.	Vijaya *alias* Sukha Sena	1046
V.	Ballâla Sena	1066
VI.	Lakshmana Sena	1106
VII.	Mâdhava Sena	1136
VIII.	Kesava Sena	1138
IX.	Lâkshmaneya *alias* Asoka Sena	1142
	Mahommedan conquest about	1204

Very little is known of the Pâla kings except that they were Buddhists, but were tolerant towards Hindus,

employed Hindu officials, and gave lands for religious purposes to the Hindus. They never possessed East Bengal, but ruled, as Dr. Mitra says, "on the west of the Bhâgirathî certainly as far as the boundary of Behar, and probably further, taking the whole of the ancient kingdom of Magadha. On the north it included Tirhut, Malda, Rajshahi, Dinajpur, Rangpur, and Bagura, which constituted the great ancient kingdom of Pundra Vardhana. The bulk of the delta seems not to have belonged to them."

Of the first king, Gopâla, a short inscription has been found in Nâlanda proving that the great king had conquered Magadha; and this fact is confirmed by Târânâth, who tells us that Gopâla "began to reign in Bengal, and afterwards conquered Magadha." According to General Cunningham,* he began his reign in 815 A.D., which is forty years earlier than the date assigned by Dr. Mitra. Gopâla's successor, Dharmapâla, extended his dominions, and married Kanna Devî, daughter of Prabala, "Raja of many countries." Dharmapâla's successor, Devapâla, was a great conqueror; the inscriptions assign to him the conquest of Kâmarûpa and Orissa, and Târânâth ascribes to him the subjugation of the whole of Northern India from the Himâlaya to the Vindhya mountains. All the warlike expeditions of Devapâla are said in one inscription to have been conducted by his brother Jayapâla, whose son, Vigrahapâla, eventually succeeded to the throne, after one or two short reigns omitted in Dr. Mitra's list. We learn from the Bhagalpur copper inscription that Vigrahapâla married the Haihaya princess Lajjâ, and the Haihayas are believed to have been Rajputs. Vigrahapâla seems in the end to have abdicated, saying to his son, "Let penance be mine, and the kingdom thine." So Nârâyanapâla his son succeeded. And his successor, Râjyapâla, was ruling all Northern India, from Bengal to Kanouj,

* Archæological Survey of India, vol. xv. p. 148.

when Mahmud of Ghazni appeared before Kanouj in 1017 A.D. Dr. Mitra's date for Râjyapâla is evidently wrong.

Of the successors of Râjyapâla little is known until we come to Mahîpâla, who, according to Târânâth, reigned fifty-two years; and General Cunningham therefore dates his reign from 1028 to 1080 A.D. The king of Orissa is said to have been tributary to this powerful king. It was in the time of the immediate successors of this king, and in the eleventh century, that the Sena Rajas of Eastern Bengal rose in power, and wrested from them the eastern provinces, leaving them Magadha, where the Pâla kings continued to reign till the dynasty came to a sudden end shortly after 1178, the date of the last inscription of this line of kings.*

Of the Sena Rajas, Dr. Rajendra Lala believes the first, Vîra Sena, to be the same as the renowned Âdi Sûra, who is supposed to have brought five Brâhmans and five Kâyasthas from Kanouj, because Bengal was poor in learned men. General Cunningham, however, considers that Vîra Sena was a remote ancestor of the later Sena kings, and reigned in the seventh century A.D. This is not unlikely, if we consider that the descendants of the ten Brâhmans and Kâyasthas, said to have been brought by Âdi Sûra, had so multiplied by the eleventh century as to require a classification by Ballâla. To the reigns of kings Sâmanta Sena to Lâkshaneya, General Cunningham assigns dates from 975 to 1198 A.D.

Of Sâmanta and his son Hemanta little is known. The next king was Vijaya, and his son was the celebrated Ballâla Sena.

It is said that the Brâhmanas and Kâyasthas imported from Kanouj had multiplied by this time, and Ballâla forbade all intermarriage between the original Brâhmanas and Kâyasthas of the country with the descendants of the new comers from Kanouj. Complicated rules were also

* Archæological Survey of India, vol. xv. p. 156.

framed by him and his successors to elevate the status of those who succeeded in securing the alliances of Kulins. It is probable, however, that Ballâla only gave his sanction to distinctions and rules which had already grown up among the different classes of Brâhmans and Kâyasthas.

Ballâla was succeeded by Lakshmana Sena. His prime minister was Halâyudha, the author of *Brâhmana Sarvasva.* Mahommedan historians state that this king greatly embellished the city of Gaur.

He was followed successively by his two sons Mâdhava Sena and Kesava Sena. Then came Lâkshmaneya, in whose reign Bengal was conquered by Bakhtiyar Khilji about 1204 A.D., or 1198 A.D. by other accounts.

The chief seat of the Sena family seems to have been Vikramapura near Dacca, where the supposed ruins of Ballâla's palace are still shown to travellers. The Senas were Hindus, as the Pâlas were Buddhists, and the gradual substitution of the one dynasty by another really marks the decay of the Buddhist religion and the universal acceptance of modern Hinduism in Bengal. The cause of the rise and fall of dynasties often lies deeper than appears on the surface, and in India the rise of new dynasties during the eighth and ninth and tenth centuries is intimately connected with the rise of Puranic Hinduism over the ashes of Buddhism.

The race or caste to which the Pâla and the Sena kings of Bengal belonged has formed the subject of much animated controversy in recent years, in which doughty scholars like Dr. Rajendra Lala and General Cunningham have taken part. It is not necessary that we should enter into the discussion; we will only state the conclusions which appear to us to be the most plausible.

The Pâlas ruled in Bengal when Jai Pâla and Ananga Pâla were ruling in Western India, and trying to oppose the march of Sabaktagin and Sultan Mahmud. There is nothing very improbable in the supposition that the Bengal Pâlas were an offshoot from the same Rajput race

which founded new kingdoms all over India in the ninth and tenth centuries A.D. They were Kshatriyas, of course, but only in the sense that they were a race of kings and warriors. So long as the Hindus were a living nation, the proud title of Kshatriya was frequently assumed by bold dynasties rising from the ranks, and Rajput kings and even the Mahratta chief Sivaji assumed the title of Kshatriya.

The Senas of Bengal in the present day are Vaidyas, *i.e.*, they belong to the medical caste; and they assume therefore that the early Sena kings of Bengal also belonged to the same caste. But before this assumption is made, it ought to be shown that the Vaidyas as a separate caste existed previously in Western or Southern India, from which the Bengal Sena dynasty must have come. We have shown elsewhere, and we will show again, that neither Kâyasthas nor Vaidyas existed as separate castes in the time of Manu and for centuries afterwards. Professional clerks and medical men still belonged to the great body of the Aryan people forming the Kshatriya and Vaisya castes; and they have differentiated into separate castes only in modern times. How can we suppose, then, that the Sena kings were Vaidyas by caste?

Vaidyas as a separate caste do not exist to this day (so we are informed), in any province outside Bengal. What, then, are we to understand by the statement that the Sena kings who came to Bengal from Western or Southern India were Vaidyas by caste?

The real fact is that the Sena kings of Bengal were scions of some royal house of Western or Southern India, —probably the Valabhi Sena house of Saurâshtra or some Sena house of Southern India. In any case, there can be no doubt that the founder of the Bengal dynasty came of some martial family—Valabhi, or Rajput, or Vaisya—who rightly assumed the title of Kshatriya, because he founded a kingdom.

The Sena Vaidyas of East Bengal may have good and

sufficient reasons for claiming kinship with Ballâla Sena and his successors. But instead of declaring that the ancient kings were Vaidyas, and came to Bengal with pestle and mortar, ointments and drugs, it would be historically more intelligible to urge that the descendants of the ancient Vaisya or Kshatriya kings of the Sena dynasty have now become merged in the modern Vaidya or medical caste of Bengal.

It is of far greater importance to us to ascertain the race to which the people of Bengal belong. The proportion of Aryan population in Bengal has always been, and is to this day, very small. The Brâhmans are of Aryan blood, except of course the Varna Brâhmans, who belong to the castes whose religious rites they perform. The Kâyasthas are also of Aryan blood, except the menial and cultivating classes (Bhândâris, &c.), who call themselves Kâyasthas, but are generally known as Sûdras. The Vaidyas are a small compact body, and are probably of pure Aryan blood, being descendants of the ancient Vaisyas. Of the trading castes, the Suvarna Vaniks and some other castes are more or less of Aryan descent. Potters, weavers, blacksmiths, goldsmiths, and other artisans are partly of Ayran blood, descended from the ancient Vaisya stock, and differentiated into different modern castes by following different professions. At the same time, there is in these Aryan castes a large admixture of aborigines, —those who followed the trades which the conquering Aryans taught them, and thus finally came to belong to the same trade-castes with their conquerors. Beyond this pale, the large agricultural, pastoral, hunting, and fishing castes, the Kaivartas, the Chandâlas, and the millions of agricultural Mahommedans, are undoubtedly descended from the non-Aryan aborigines of the soil. Beyond them, again, the Bagdis, Bauris, Doms, Haris, &c., are aborigines who have not yet been completely Hinduised.

We now turn to the history of Orissa. Orissa, like

Bengal, was probably first colonised by the Aryans in the Rationalistic Period, but, unlike Bengal, Orissa has memorials of the early Aryan settlers in its rock-cut caves and palaces. Buddhist missionaries came to this land to spread that religion and spend their lives in calm and austere contemplation in caves; and some of the caves must be referred to a period before the time of Asoka. Half-way between Cuttack and Puri, two sandstone hills rise abruptly from the jungles, and the peaks and sides of these hills, the Khandagiri and the Udayagiri, are honeycombed with cells, caves, and edifices. The oldest of them consist of single cells, scarcely fit for the habitation of men, except of such who had determined to pass their lives in austere seclusion. In course of time larger caves were excavated and even ornamented with sculpture, and the last works were commodious residences, fit for assemblies of monks and even for kings and queens. There can be little doubt that Asoka's conquest of Kalinga fostered these fine Buddhist excavations; and we have seen before that some of Asoka's inscriptions have been found in Orissa.

We know little of the history of Orissa during the Buddhist Period. The history of that province was first explored by Stirling, who published the results of his labours in Vol. XV. of the "Asiatic Researches." The subject has since received the attention of Sir William Hunter and of Dr. Rajendra Lala Mitra.

It would seem that the last of the Buddhist kings were called Yavanas; but it is not known if they were so called because descended from the Bactrian Greeks, or simply because they were Buddhists. Yayâti Kesari expelled the Yavanas in 474 A.D., and began the Kesari or "Lion dynasty," and introduced Hinduism in its Puranic form. The Kesari dynasty reigned for nearly seven centuries, and the authentic history of Orissa begins with the commencement of this dynasty. The

following chronological list, taken from Dr. Hunter's work, may interest our readers:—

		A.D.			A.D.
Yayâti	Kesari	476	Madhusûdana	Kesari	904
Sûrya	,,	526	Dharma	,,	920
Ananta	,,	583	Jana	,,	930
Alabu	,,	623	Nripa	,,	941
Kanaka	,,	677	Makara	,,	953
Vîra	,,	693	Tripura	,,	961
Padma	,,	701	Mâdhava	,,	971
Vriddha	,,	706	Govinda	,,	989
Bata	,,	715	Nritya	,,	999
Gaja	,,	726	Narasinha	,,	1013
Vasanta	,,	738	Kurma	,,	1024
Gandharva	,,	740	Matsya	,,	1034
Janamejaya	,,	754	Varâha	,,	1050
Bharata	,,	763	Vâmana	,,	1065
Kali	,,	778	Parasu	,,	1078
Kamala	,,	792	Chandra	,,	1080
Kundala	,,	811	Sujana	,,	1092
Chandra	,,	829	Sâlini	,,	1099
Vîra Chandra	,,	846	Puranjana	,,	1104
Amrita	,,	865	Vishnu	,,	1107
Vijaya	,,	875	Indra	,,	1119
Chandrapâla	,,	890	Suvarna	,,	1123 to 1132

[Extinction of the Kesari line.]

The Kesari kings had their capital at Bhuvanesvara, which they beautified with numerous temples and edifices, the remains of which are among the noblest specimens of Hindu architecture in India. The whole place is crowded with such buildings, and must have been, during the ascendency of the Kesari line, the most magnificent city in India for temples and beautiful edifices.

The first king, Yayâti Kesari, is said to have founded this capital, the name of which implies that the Siva or Bhuvanesvara was then the most popular deity of the Orissa Hindus. Jajpur was another capital of Yayâti, and the colossal statues there found also attest to the power and greatness of the dynasty, and to their devotion to Siva and his consort. Nripa Kesari, who reigned

from 941 to 953 A.D., is said to have founded the city of Cuttack.

A new dynasty, known as the Gangâ Vansa, or the "Gangetic dynasty," succeeded the Lion dynasty.

The origin of this dynasty is still involved in obscurity, but the name of the family as well as traditions connect them with Bengal; and it is probable they came from near the ancient Tâmralipta or Tumlook. The rise of this dynasty marks a religious revolution; and as the Lion dynasty had supplanted Buddhism by Siva worship, so the Gangetic house supplanted Siva worship by Vishnu worship. But nevertheless none of these creeds was altogether extinct in Orissa; on the contrary, the three religions ran in parallel streams, contracting or expanding in influence and power with the lapse of ages. Vishnu worship, in its modern form, is the prevailing religion in the present day.

We append the following list of the Gangetic kings from Dr. Hunter's work:—

	A.D.		A.D.
Chor Ganga	1132	Sankha Vasudeva	1337
Gangesvara	1152	Bali ,,	1361
Ekjatakam Deva	1166	Vîra ,,	1382
Madana Mahadeva	1171	Kali ,,	1401
Ananga Bhîma Deva	1175	Neungatanta ,,	1414
Râjarâjesvara Deva	1202	Netra ,,	1429
Lânguhya Naraswha	1237	Kapilendra Deva	1452
Kesari ,,	1282	Purushottama Deva	1479
Pratâpa ,,	1307	Prapâta Rudra Deva	1504
Ghati Kantha ,,	1327	Kalinga Deva	1532
Kapila ,,	1329	Kalharuga Deva	1533 to 1534
Sankha Bhasura	1330		

[Extinction of the Gangetic line.]

Some of the earlier kings of this line were among the most powerful monarchs of their time. Gangesvara (1152 to 1166) ruled from the the Ganges to the Godâvarî, and Ananga Bhîma Deva (1175 to 1202), also a most powerful king, is said to have built the present temple of

Jagannâtha. Later on, Purushottama Deva (1479 to 1504) is said to have defeated the king of Kânchî in Southern India, and married his daughter; and his successor, Prâtapa Rudra Deva, was on the throne when the great Vaishuava reformer Chaitanya visited Orissa.

Govinda Vidyâdhara murdered the last king of the Gangetic house and ascended the throne; but conflict with the Mahommedans began in his reign, 1534 to 1541 A.D. Four kings then successively ascended the throne, Chakra Pratâpa (1541 to 1549), Narasinga Jana (1549 to 1550), Raghurâma Chotra (1550 to 1551), and Mukunda Deva (1551 to 1559 A.D). It was in this last reign that the famous Mahommedan general Kalapahar invaded the province, defeated and slew the king in a battle near Jajpur, plundered the city of Jagannâtha, and overthrew the Hindu monarchy.

Thus, after maintaining its independence for nearly four centuries after the conquest of Northern India and Bengal, Orissa was conquered by the Mahommedans about 1560 A.D.

CHAPTER V.

KASHMIR AND SOUTHERN INDIA.

WE have in a previous chapter brought down the history of Kashmir to the time of Mâtrigupta, the friend and contemporary of Vikramâditya the Great. We note down the names of Mâtrigupta's successors to the middle of the twelfth century, when Kahlana's history comes to a close.* There is a continuation of Kahlana's history by other writers.

We have only to premise that from the time of Durlabha Vardhana (the seventh king in succession from Mâtrigupta), Kahlana's dates are perfectly reliable. Durlabha Vardhana began his reign in 598 A.D. according to Kahlana. Six kings ruled between Mâtrigupta and Durlabha Vardhana, and if we give an average of fifteen years to each of these six reigns, Mâtrigupta's reign falls at the commencement of the sixth century A.D.

But Kahlana was misled by the Saka Era, and believed Vikramâditya and Mâtrigupta to have reigned about the beginning of that era. He had therefore to spin out the six reigns (between Mâtrigupta and Durlabha Vardhana) into five centuries. And this he does by allotting 300 years to one reign, viz., that of Ranâditya! Hence Kahlana's dates previous to Durlabha Vardhana's time are worthless.

* We rely, as before, on Mr Jogesh Chunder Dutt's translation.

	A.D.
Mâtrigupta abdicated .	50
Pravara Sena, Yudhisthira, Narendrâditya, Ranâditya, Vikramâditya, Bâlâditya .	550 to 598
Durlabha Vardhana (Kahlana's date)	598
Durlabhaka " " .	634
Chandrâpîra " " .	684
Târâpîra " " .	693
Lalitâditya " " .	697
Kuvalayâpîra " " .	733
Vajrâditya " " .	734
Prithivyâpîra " " .	741
Sangrâmapîra " " .	745
Jayâpîra " " .	745
Lalitâpîra " " .	776
Sangrâmapîra " " .	788
Chippata Jayâpîra . . " " .	795
Ajitâpîra " " .	813
Anangapîra " " .	849
Utpalâpîra " " .	852
Avantivarman " " .	855
Sankaravarman " " .	883
Gopâlavarman " " .	902
Sankata " " .	904
Sugandhâ " " .	904
Pârtha " " .	906
Nirjitavarman " " .	921
Chakravarman (Kahlana's date)	922
Suravarman " " .	933
Pârtha (2d time) " " .	934
Chakravarman (2d & 3d time) " " .	935
Unmattâvanti " " .	937
Suravarma " " .	939
Yasaskara " " .	939
Varnata " " .	948
Sangrâma " " .	948
Parvagupta " " .	948
Kshemagupta " " .	905
Abhimanyu " " .	958
Nandigupta " " .	972
Tribhuvanagupta " " .	973
Bhîmagupta " " .	975
Diddâ " " .	980
Sangrâma " " .	1003
Harirâja " " .	1028
Ananta Deva " " .	1028
Ranâditya " " .	1063
Utkarsa " " .	1089
Harsha " " .	1089
Uchchala " " .	1101
Rodda " " .	1111
Salhana " " .	1111
Sussala " " .	1112
Bhikshâchara " " .	1120
Sassala " " .	1121
Senha Deva " " .	1127
Kahlana's account closes at the 22nd year of this reign.	

Thanks to Kahlana and his translator, the English reader is furnished with some interesting facts of the history of Kashmir. The episode of Mâtrigupta is one of the most interesting on record. He is said to have been a courtier and a poet of the court of Vikramâditya the Great, and that great emperor bestowed on him the kingdom of Kashmir as a reward for his merit. We do not know how the poet administered a kingdom; but

when he heard of his patron's death he abdicated in grief, and retired as a religious mendicant to Benares.

Pravara Sena, nephew of the previous king, succeeded Mâtrigupta; and the poet, before his departure, extolled in verses a wonderful bridge which the new king made on the Vitastâ. Pravara Sena became a powerful king, extended his conquest as far as Saurâshtra, and it is said defeated Sîlâditya I., the successor of Vikramâditya, and brought away from Ujjayinî the throne which Vikramâditya had probably taken away as a trophy. Here we have a confirmation of the statement of Houen Tsang, that Sîlâditya I. succeeded Vikramâditya the Great.

The next great king was the renowned Lalitâditya, whose long reign of thirty-six years began in 697 A.D. He extended his conquests far and wide, and subdued Yasovarman, the king of Kanouj; and Bhavabhûti, the most renowned dramatist of India after Kalidâsa, followed the conqueror from Kanouj. Lalitâditya then proceeded with his conquests further east and south, and is said to have subdued Kalinga, Gaur, and even Karnâta, and then "crossed the sea, passing from one island to another." We do not know how much of this is fact, and how much is due to the poet's imagination. He returned towards his country, crossing the Vindhya, and coming through Avanti. He built numerous edifices, and is said to have lost his life in attempting to cross the Himâlayas to conquer the unknown north.

Lalitâditya was the contemporary, not only of Bhavabhûti the poet, but of Muhammad Kasim, the Mahommedan conqueror of Sind. We are told that Lalitâditya defeated the Turashkas, and also "the wily king of Sindhu." This may have been the successor of Kasim, who held Sind down to 750 A.D.

Bajrâditya, who reigned from 734 to 741 A.D., "had many females in his zenana, sold many people to the Mlechchas, and introduced their evil habits."

The powerful Jayâpîra reigned thirty-one years, from 745

to 776 A.D., and employed learned men to collect together Patanjali's Great Commentary on Pânini. He is also said to have gone to Paundravardhana, the possession of Jayanta king of Gaur, and to have married the princess Kalyânadevî daughter of Jayanta. A restless conqueror, he penetrated into Nepal, and was beaten and imprisoned, but escaped. Jayâpîra trusted his Kâyastha ministers and financiers, and the Brâhman historian narrates that a Brâhman's curse killed him!

Avantivarman commenced a new dynasty in 855 A.D., and reigned till 883 A.D. Great floods caused much injury in his reign, and we are told that Suyyu, a benefactor of his country, cleared a passage for the water of the Vitastâ, and also opened out canals to take out the superfluous water. Sindhu flowed to the left, Vitastâ to the right, and were made to meet at Vainyasvamin. After thus diverting the course of the rivers, he raised a great embankment as a protection against the waters of the Mahâpadma lake, and joined the lake also with the Vitastâ.

Avantivarman was the first *Vaishnava* king that we read of. His successor, Sankaravarman, was a great conqueror, and extended his conquests to Gujrat, but disgusted the Brâhmans of his country by trusting to his Kâyastha financiers. Surendravatî and two other queens perished with him *on the pyre*, 902 A.D.

Sugandhâ, a dissolute queen, reigned for two years, 904 to 906 A.D., by the help of the Tantrîs and the Ekângas, probably two religious sects. But she was soon deposed, and the Tantrîs set up one king after another, according as they were bribed and courted. We now read of a succession of worthless and dissolute kings, of whom Kshemagupta (950 to 958 A.D.), was about the most shameless and dissolute. His son Abhimanyu, a blameless prince, reigned for fourteen years, after which his mother Diddâ (the widow of Kshemagupta), commenced her long reign of twenty-three years (980 to

1003 A.D)., after successively murdering three infant kings. When these scenes were disgracing the court of Kashmir, a great enemy was nigh. Mahmud of Ghuzni had commenced his invasions before Diddâ's reign had come to a close.

Her successor, Kshemapati, sent succour to the Shah king against the Turashka invader Hammira (Mahmud ?), but in vain. The terrible invader defeated the army, consisting of Kashmirians and Rajputs, and annexed the "Shahirâjya." Another expedition was sent out, but the army fled back to their country before the conquering Moslems.

Ananta, after a long reign of thirty-five years, abdicated in favour of his son Ranâditya, a prince of dissolute habits. He, too, had a long reign of twenty-six years, and died in 1089 A.D. His son Utkarsha succeeded him, but was soon deposed by his abler brother, Harsha. There was a great deal of civil war in this reign, which ended in the defeat of the king. He retired as a hermit, but was traced out and killed.

The secluded position of Kashmir enabled the kingdom to maintain its independence for some centuries after the reign of Harsha, but there is little in its annals to interest the reader. The country was at last invaded and conquered by a Mahommedan invader, and was ultimately united to the empire of Akbar.

We now turn to the history of Southern India.

We have seen that Southern India was Hinduised by the Aryans in the Rationalistic Age, after the tenth century B.C.; that the great Andhara kingdom was founded in the Deccan in that Age, and that some of the Sûtra schools of learning and laws were founded there. After the Christian Era, the Andhras extended their power over Magadha and Northern India, and for centuries held the supreme power in India. When the Andhras and the Guptas fell, the Valabhis became the masters of Gujrat and Western India, and they were succeeded by the Rajputs.

In the meantime the CHALUKYAS, a Rajput tribe, had become a great power in the Deccan when the Valabhis rose in Gujrat, and held sway over the whole of the country between the Nurbudda and the Krishna rivers. The rule of the Chalukyas in the Deccan commenced about the close of the fifth century A.D., and continued to the close of the twelfth century, *i.e.*, to the time when Northern India was conquered by the Mahommedans. The western branch of the Chalukyas held sway in the Konkan and the Mahârâshtra country, and had their capital at Kalyan; while the eastern branch of the same race ruled over Eastern Deccan, and had their capital at Rajamandri, near the mouth of the Godâvarî river. Sir Walter Elliot published lists of the kings of the two houses in 1858, and the lists have since been copied by other writers.

CHALUKYA DYNASTIES.

WESTERN BRANCH. CAPITAL—KALYAN.

		A.D.
1.	Jaya Sinha Vijayâditya I.	470
2.	Râja Sinha, Vishnu Vardhana.	
3.	Vijayâditya II.	
4.	Pulakesin I.	
5.	Kritti Varma I.	
6.	Mangalisa.	
7.	Satyâsraya Pulakesin II. (Contemporary of Sîlâditya II. and of Houen Tsang)	609
8.	Amara.	
9.	Aditya.	
10.	Vikramâditya I.	
11.	Vinayâditya.	
12.	Vijayâditya III.	
13.	Vikramâditya II.	
14.	Kritti Varma II.	
15.	Kritti Varma III.	709
16.	Tailapa I.	
17.	Bhîma Râja.	
18.	Kritti Varma IV.	
19.	Vijayâditya IV.	
20.	Vikramâditya III. or Tailap II. (Restored the monarchy after usurpation by Ratta Kula)	973
21.	Satyâsraya II.	
22.	Vikramâditya IV.	
23.	Jaha Sinha.	
24.	Somesvara I.	
25.	Somesvara II.	
26.	Vikramâditya V.	
27.	Somesvara III.	1127
28.	Jagadeka	1138
29.	Tailapa III.	1150
30.	Somesvara IV.	1182

(Dethroned by Bijala of the Kala Churya line. The southern part of the dominions fell under the Ballala dynasty of Mysore.)

EASTERN BRANCH. CAPITAL—RAJAMANDRI.

1. Vishnu Vardhana II. (605 A.D.)
2. Jaya Sinha I.
3. Indra Râja.
4. Vishnu Vardhana III.
5. Manga Yuva Râja.
6. Jaya Sinha II. } Brothers.
7. Kokkili. } Brothers.
8. Vishnu Vardhana IV. } Brothers.
9. Vijayâdita I.
10. Vishnu Vardhana V.
11. Narendra Mrigarâja.
12. Vishnu Vardhana VI.
13. Vijayâditya II. (conquered Kalinga).
14. Chalukya Bhîma I.
15. Vijayâditya III.
16. Amma Râja.
17. Vijayâditya IV.
18. Talapa (usurper).
19. Vijayâditya V.
20. Yuddha Malla.
21. Râja Bhîma II.
22. Amma Râja II.
23. Dhanârnava (interregnum of twenty-seven years).
24. Kritti Varma.
25. Vimalâditya.
26. Râja Narendra.
27. Rajendra Chola.
28. Vikrama Deva Chola.
29. Raja Raja Chola (viceroy for one year).
30. Vîra Deva Chola (1079 to 1135 A.D.).

(After this the country fell under the sway of the Kakatya dynasty of Warangal.)

A list of kings conveys no ideas of a people's history to the reader, and, unfortunately, we are able to supply little more about the Chalukyas than the foregoing lists. The founder of the earlier or western branch is said to have been related to the founder of the Valabhi kings, Bhatarka Senâpati. The fourth king, Pulakesin I., was the same who, a hundred years before Houen Tsang's time, harried the monastery at Amarâvatî, and abolished Buddhism in those parts. He also probably conquered Chola, burnt Conjeveram, and expelled the Pahavas, who were the dominant race in the Deccan before the Chalukyas rose in power. The seventh king, Pulakesin II., was the great rival whom Sîlâditya II. of Kanouj could never defeat, and we have already quoted a spirited account of the Maharattas under this great and warlike king, from Houen Tsang's travels. The dynasty seems to have flourished till about 750 A.D. After this the power of the family was alienated for a time, until the time of

Tailapa II., who restored the monarchy in 973 A.D. The dynasty enjoyed two centuries more of prosperity, after which it came to an end.

The eastern or junior branch extended their territories northwards to the frontiers of Cuttack, and fixed their capital at Râja Mahendri, the modern Rajamundri. More than one revolution occurred in the course of their history, but the old family always contrived to regain its power until the kingdom passed by marriage to Rajendra Chola, the then dominant sovereign of Southern India, in whose person the power of the Cholas reached its zenith.

The Chalukyas, like all the Rajput dynasties in Northern India, were staunch Hindus, and were inimical to Buddhism; and we shall in a future chapter give some account of the works of Hindu architecture which India owes to this dynasty.

To turn now to the south of the Krishnâ river, we come to the ancient Dravidian country stretching southwards to Cape Comorin. The ancient Dravidians appear to have had a civilisation of their own before Aryan civilisation was imported into their land. We have said something of the Pandyas, who founded their kingdom in the extreme south, many centuries before the Christian Era. Strabo speaks of an ambassador from King Pandion to Augustus, and it is conjectured that the ambassador was from the Pandya country. At the time of the "Piriplus," the Pandya kingdom included the Malabar coast; and from the frequent mention of this country by classical writers, we know that the Pandya kingdom was sufficiently civilised, in the centuries immediately before and after the Christian Era, to carry on a brisk trade with the western nations. The seat of government was twice changed, and was at last fixed at Madura, where it was in Ptolemy's time, and remained in subsequent ages.

The Pandya kingdom was situated in the extreme

south of India, including, roughly, the modern districts of Tinnivelly and Madura. To the north of this arose, before the Christian Era, another civilised kingdom, that of CHOLA, stretching along the Kâverî river and to the north of it. The capital of this country, Kânchî, has a name and a repute for learning in classical Sanscrit literature, and was a flourishing town when Houen Tsang visited India; and there must have been constant communications between this seat of learning and Ujjayinî and Kanouj in the north. In the eighth and succeeding centuries, the power of the Chola kings extended over a great part of Karnâta and Telingana.

A third ancient kingdom, called CHERA, included Travancore, Malabar, and Kaimbatur. It is mentioned by Ptolemy, and must have existed before the commencement of the Christian Era. Kerala also, including Malabar and Canara, was an adjoining kingdom, and was probably often under the rule, or under the protection, of the Pandyan kings.

It has been discovered that the second edict of Asoka speaks of the Choda, Pada, and Kerala Putra countries; and it has been conjectured that these names represent the Chola, the Pandya, and the Chera (or Kerala) kingdoms. It will thus appear that this triarchy of ancient Hindu kingdoms in the extreme south of India had already acquired a name before the third century B.C.

The possessions of this ancient triarchy of Southern India varied according to the powers of particular kings and dynasties. The Pandyas were the most ancient, but after the Christian Era the Chola or Kânchî kings were the most famed and the most powerful, and were often at war with the eastern branch of the Chalukya house. The reader will find, in the list of the eastern Chalukya kings, the names of Rajendra Chola and his three successors, who were then the masters of Southern India.

Towards the close of the tenth century A.D., a great Rajput house rose in Mysore, named the BALLALAS. In

the eleventh century they subjugated the whole of the Carnatic, and, as we have seen before, annexed the southern dominions of the western Chalukyan house. The powerful house remained supreme in the Carnatic and Malabar until it was subverted by the Mahommedans in 1310 A.D.

We have to speak of one more Hindu kingdom in the south, although its history falls within the Mahommedan period. After the fall of the Ballala kings of the Carnatic, a new family set itself up in the place of the Ballalas, and founded its capital at VIJAYANAGARA about 1344 A.D. The founding of Vijayanagara is ascribed to two princes, Bukkaraya and Harihara, with the aid of a learned Brâhman, Mâdhava Vidyâranya. The earliest copper-plate grant of Bukkaraya is dated 1370 A.D. Mâdhava, otherwise called Sâyana, was his prime minister, and is the most learned and elaborate commentator of the Hindu sacred works that India has ever produced. The founding of a great Hindu kingdom in the fourteenth century was attended with a temporary revival of Hindu learning, and to Sâyana we owe the series of commentaries on the Vedas, philosophical systems, law, and grammar, which are to this day considered authoritative in all parts of India.

For over two hundred years the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagara prospered. It held its place among the Mahommedan kingdoms which arose in the Deccan, formed treaties and alliances, and won or lost territories by war. A closer intimacy sprang up between Hindus and Mahommedans than before; the Bahmani kings employed Rajput troops, and the kings of Vijayanagara recruited Mahommedan troops, assigned lands to their chiefs, and built mosques in their capital for them.

A fanatical spirit was, however, developed in the course of centuries, and the Mahommedan chiefs of Ahmadnagar, Bijapur, and Golconda (states formed out of the old Bahmani kingdom), combined against the Hindu king-

dom. A great battle was fought on the Krishna river, near Telicota, in 1565 A.D., and the Mahommedans were victorious. The old and brave Raja was barbarously put to death in cold blood, and his head was kept in Bijapur for centuries as a trophy.

The monarchy of Vijayanagara was thus destroyed; it was the last great Hindu kingdom in Southern India. But the Mahommedans did not complete the conquest of Southern India; and the Carnatic, Travancore, and other places were occupied by petty chiefs, princes, zemindars, and polygars, who lived often in their hill forts, and came to notice in the time of the British wars in the Carnatic.

The brother of the last king of Vijayanagara settled at Chandragiri, and a descendant of his first granted the settlement of Fort St. George (Madras) to the English in 1640 A.D., *i.e.*, within a century after the fall of the old kingdom of Vijayanagara. This petty transaction is a curious and interesting link connecting the past with the present!

CHAPTER VI.

RELIGION.

THE form of Hinduism which prevailed in India previous to the spread of Buddhism is generally known as the Vedic religion, while the form of Hinduism which succeeded Buddhism is generally known as the Puranic religion. There are two cardinal distinctions between the Vedic and the Puranic religion,—one in doctrine, and the other in observance.

The Vedic religion was to the very last a religion of elemental gods; of Indra, Agni, Sûrya, Varuna, the Maruts, the Asvins, and others; and although the composers of the hymns and of the Upanishads rose to the conception of a Supreme and Universal Being, nevertheless sacrifices were still offered, by princes and the people alike, to the ancient elemental gods of the Rig Veda. In the same way, the Puranic religion classed all these elemental gods as deities, and recognised, far above and beyond them, the Supreme Being in his triple form,—Brahmâ the Creator, Vishnu the Preserver, and Siva the Destroyer. The recognition of this Hindu Trinity is the distinctive feature of Puranic Hinduism in doctrine, and it is impossible not to suspect that this idea of a Trinity is borrowed from the Buddhist Trinity.

The distinctive feature of Puranic Hinduism in the matter of observance is image-worship. Vedic religion was a religion of sacrifice to the fire. From the most ancient times, whatever was offered to the gods was offered to the fire; and down to the last days of the Rationalistic Period, kings, priests, as well as humble

householders, offered sacrifices to the fire, and knew of no image worship. Buddhism degenerated into idol worship in the centuries after the Christian Era, and it is impossible not to suspect that modern Hinduism borrowed its image-worship from Buddhism. It is certain that when the Code of Manu was compiled, in the Buddhist Age, image-worship was gaining ground, and was condemned by that conservative lawgiver. The practice, however, steadily gained ground, until it became the essence of modern Hindu rites and celebrations. Sacrifice to the fire is now almost a thing of the past.

Such is the distinction in doctrine and in observances between Vedic Hinduism and Puranic Hinduism. With that conservative feeling, however, which has always marked each new development of the Hindu religion, the Puranic writers avoided the *appearance* of an innovation, and selected the names of the Trinity from the ancient names in the Vedic Pantheon. Brahmâ, or, rather, Brahmanaspati, was the god of prayer in the Rig Veda; and when the composers of the Upanishads conceived the idea of a Universal Being, they called that being Brahman. That name, therefore, was an appropriate one for the Creative function of the Divine Power. Vishnu was a name of the sun in the Rig Veda, the cherisher of all living beings; and his name therefore fitted the higher modern conception of the Preserving Divine Power. Rudra was a name of the thunder or thunder-cloud in the Rig Veda; and a happier name could not be selected for the Destroying Divine Power. And when these different functions of the Divine Power were thus separately named, they very soon assumed distinct individualities and characters. The Trinity, as Creator, Preserver, and Destroyer, was unknown to Manu about the commencement of the Christian Era; but the idea had become a national property by the time of Kâlidâsa in the sixth century A.D.

When the popular imagination had thus conceived

separate deities out of these functions of the Divine Power, the deities had to be mated with goddesses. Sarasvatî was mated with Brahmâ, and the reason which underlies this union is that Brahmâ in the Rig Veda was the god of prayers, and Sarasvatî was the goddess of hymns. Vishnu was mated with a new goddess, Lakshmî, of whom we find no trace in ancient Sanscrit literature; but there are some reasons for supposing that as Sîtâ, the field furrow of the Rig Veda, assumed a distinctly human form and became the heroine of a national epic in India, Lakshmî stepped into her place as the goddess of crops and wealth, and was a fit spouse for the preserving deity. And, lastly, Umâ in the Kena Upanishad is a mysterious female, who explains to Indra the nature of Brahman. In the Satapatha Brâhmana, Ambikâ is the sister of Rudra. And in the Mundaka Upanishad, Kâlî, Karâlî, &c., are the names of the seven tongues of the fire, Rudra being the fire or lightning. All these scattered hints are gathered together by the Puranic writers, and Umâ and Ambikâ, Durgâ and Kâlî, are the different names of the consort of the dread destroyer,—Rudra, Siva, or Mahâdeva.

But when we have spoken of the three supreme gods and their wives, we have said but little of modern Hinduism. A world of legends connect themselves with the incarnations of one of the Trinity,—Vishnu or the Preserver. Râma, the mythical hero of the Râmâyana, was considered an incarnation of Vishnu; and Krishna, the son of Devakî, who was a pupil of the teacher Ghora Angirasa in the Chhândogya Upanishad, and was merely a Yâdava chief in the older parts of the Mahâbhârata, assumed a divine character, and was considered another incarnation of Vishnu. And as Krishna became more and more a popular deity, new stories of his sports with the milkmaids of Vrindâvana were multiplied in the Purânas.

Krishna, as we have seen before, is an ancient name in Sanscrit sacred literature. But his recent appearance as a Supreme Deity, and the stories about his birth, and about Kansa and the massacre of the innocents, and the resemblance between the Bible and the Bhagavat Gîtâ, have led many European scholars to suppose that the Hindus have borrowed Christian legends and ideas, and applied them to Krishna. An interesting controversy was maintained for some years in the pages of the *Indian Antiquary*. Dr. Lorisner, writing in 1869, asserted the indebtedness of the Hindus; Mr. Telang of Bombay, and Professor Windisch of Heidelberg, denied the indebtedness; Professor Bhandarkar pointed out references to the deification of Krishna in the Mahâbhâsya, a work of the second century B.C.; and Professor Weber, while admitting the reciprocal action and mutual influence of Gnostic and Indian conceptions in the first centuries of the Christian Era, considers Dr. Lorisner's attempt to be "overdone."

Siva is not as popular a deity now as Vishnu, but in the Puranic Age—in the times of Vikramâditya and of the Lion kings of Orissa—Siva was more popular. Strange stories have been blended together in the Puranic legends about Siva's consort. In the Satapatha Brâhmana we are told of a sacrifice being performed by Daksha Pârvati; but the story that Satî (Siva's consort and Daksha's daughter) gave up her life at the sacrifice, is a Puranic addition. Again, in the Kena Upanishad we find mention of Umâ Haimavatî, who explains to Indra the nature of Brahman; and this character of Umâ Haimavatî suggested the later Puranic legend that Satî was reborn as Umâ, the daughter of the Himâlaya mountains. How that mountain maiden attended on Siva during his meditations; how, though aided by the god of love, she failed to make any impression on the divine anchorite; and how she at last won him by her penances and devotions, —these are all lovely creations of the Puranic fancy

which have been embalmed in the immortal poetry of Kâlidâsa.

Such are the leading myths connected with the deities of the Hindu Trinity. The ancient elemental gods of the Rig Veda occupy a far lower rank in the modern Hindu Pantheon. Nevertheless, there are glowing accounts in the Purânas of Indra's heaven thronged by the bright Vedic gods, Agni, Vâyu, &c.; by their celestial troops, chariots, and elephants; by graceful Apsarâs, and by musical Gandharvas. But even these Vedic gods have changed their character. Indra is no longer the soma-drinking martial god who helps Aryans in their wars against aborigines. Times have changed, and ideas have changed with the times. Puranic Indra is a gorgeous king of a luxurious and somewhat voluptuous celestial court, where dance and music occupy most of his time. His queen, Sachî or Indrânî, is a noble and spirited conception, and is honoured by all the gods. The Apsarases of the Veda have attained lovely individualities, and Rambhâ, Tilottamâ, and the Puranic Urvasî are the courtesans of heaven, and regale the leisure hours of Indra by their dance and their amours. Indra is said to have attained his proud position by his austere penances, and is in constant fear lest any mortals on earth should attain the same rank by the same means. Not unoften, therefore, are the heavenly nymphs sent down by Indra to earth to disturb severe penances, and beguile the heart of anchorites by their irresistible charms. The Asuras are another source of his apprehension, and though expelled from heaven, they often return in force, and reconquer it by sheer fighting. On such occasions Indra and his followers have to ask the succour of some of the superior deities, Brahmâ, Vishnu, or Siva. These deities never condescend to help the minor gods against the Asuras; but they console the beaten gods, and suggest to them plans for recovering their position. On one such occasion the gods devised a marriage between Siva and the mountain

maid Umâ, and Kumara, Skanda or Kârtikeya, the issue of the union, led back the expelled gods to victory and to heaven. Both Kumâra and his brother Ganesa, with his elephant head, are unknown to ancient Hindu religion, and are Puranic creations.

While the popular mind is thus engaged with the endless legends connected with these Puranic gods,—whose number, we are told, is 330 millions, (an obvious exaggeration of the thirty-three Vedic gods), the wise and the learned are constantly reminded of the cardinal principle of the Upanishads, that there is but One Deity, and that gods and Asuras and men, yea the whole universe, are but emanations from that Universal Soul, and will return to that Universal Soul.

Virtuous deeds lead to residence in heaven for long or short periods, and evil deeds lead to tortures in hell, also for stated periods; and then the soul returns again to animate new bodies in succeeding births. The doctrine of transmigration is as firmly ingrained in the Hindu mind as the doctrine of resurrection is in the Christian mind, and the lowest Hindu sees a possible relation or kinsman in a new-born babe, or even in a bird or animal. It is only by pious contemplation and learning, by sinlessness and freedom from all earthly feelings and passions, that the soul can at last shake off earthly trammels, and mingle with the Universal Soul, which is the Hindu's final salvation. We see how this idea, started in the Upanishads, was modified into the Buddhist doctrine of Nirvâna, and was then accepted back again as the cardinal principle of Vedantism and of modern or Puranic Hinduism. The truly learned and wise, therefore, are recommended not to win a place in Indra's heaven by meritorious acts, but to seek final absorption into the Universal Soul by effecting freedom in this world from worldly feelings and passions.

Later developments of Hinduism have proceeded on the same recognition of One Deity, and some name from the modern Hindu Pantheon has been selected for the

purpose. Dr. Wilson, in his work on the religious sects of the Hindus, enumerates and describes nineteen classes of Vaishnavas or followers of Vishnu, eleven classes of Saivas or followers of Siva, and four classes of Sâktas or followers of Saktî, the consort of Siva, besides other miscellaneous sects.

The Vaishnava religion in many of its forms seems to be only a survival of the Buddhist religion. There is the same theoretical equality of all men and of all castes, and the same prohibition against the destruction of animal life. But these principles are coupled with faith in one personal deity, Vishnu, who is often, however, adored by the common people as Krishna. Stories about the amours of Krishna with the milkmaids of Vrindâvana have been conceived and spread among the people since the Puranic times. Bankim Chandra, the greatest living author in India, has lately proved to his countrymen that these stories find no mention in the Mahâbhârata. The followers of Siva and his consort Saktî have often adopted still more corrupt doctrines and practices.

Such are the doctrines and tenets of modern Hinduism in its various phases, but the character of a nation is shaped and influenced more by rites and observances than by tenets; and, as we have stated before, there has been a wide departure from the old Vedic days, in religious rites and observances.

The worship of images in temples was unknown to the Hindus before the Buddhist revolution, but seems to have come into fashion when Buddhism was the prevailing religion. We have seen before that Manu, who was a strong conservative in matters of religious rites, upheld the ancient system of offering sacrifices in the domestic or sacrificial fire, and indignantly classed temple priests with vendors of liquor and sellers of meat. Temples and images, however, had their attraction for the popular mind, and by the sixth century they were regarded with veneration, and had to a great extent

supplanted the ancient form of worship. In the literature of the sixth to eighth century A.D., we seldom read of sacrifices, except those performed by kings; while Kâlidâsa and other poets often speak of temples and the images worshipped there.

The change was undoubtedly one in the wrong direction. The worship of images has never an ennobling influence on a people's mind; but in India the practice was accompanied by other evils. Down to the time of Manu, the Vaisyas or the mass of the people could worship their gods in their own way, and could offer libations at their domestic hearths. When, however, the worship was transferred from the fireside to the temple, priests as custodians of such temples had an additional influence on the popular mind, and forged an additional chain round the necks of the people. Pompous celebrations and gorgeous decorations arrested the imagination and fostered the superstition of the populace; poetry, arts, architecture, sculpture, and music lent their aid; and within a few centuries the nation's wealth was lavished on those gorgeous edifices and ceremonials which were the outward manifestations of the people's unlimited devotion and faith. Pilgrimages, which were rare or unknown in very ancient times, were organised on a stupendous scale; gifts in lands and money poured in for the support of temples; and religion itself gradually transformed itself to a blind veneration of images and their custodians. The great towns of India were crowded with temples; and new gods and new images found sanctuaries in stone edifices, and in the hearts of ignorant worshippers.

We will in the following chapter illustrate the foregoing remarks on Puranic Hinduism by a brief examination of the Puranic religious literature.

CHAPTER VII.

RELIGIOUS LITERATURE.

I. DHARMA SÂSTRAS.

THE Dharma Sûtras of Gautama, Vasishtha, Baudhâyana, and Âpastamba furnished us with the best available materials for an account of the manners and laws of the Rationalistic Period. The Dharma Sâstra of Manu supplied us with equally valuable materials for an account of Hindu life in the Buddhist Period. Fortunately, the series of Dharma Sâstras was continued in the Puranic times, and Yâjnavalkya gives us a list of no less than twenty works. They are:—

1. Manu.
2. Atri.
3. Vishnu.
4. Hârîta.
5. Yâjnavalkya.
6. Usanas.
7. Angiras.
8. Yama.
9. Âpastamba.
10. Samvarta.
11. Kâtyâyana.
12. Brihaspati.
13. Parâsara
14. Vyâsa.
15. Sankha.
16. Likhita.
17. Daksha.
18. Gautama.
19. Sâtâtapa.
20. Vasishtha.

Parâsara gives us a list of the same twenty works, only substituting Kasyapa for Vishnu, Garga for Vyâsa, and Prachetas for Yama. Of these twenty works, Gautama, Âpastamba, and Vasishtha belong, as we have seen before, to the Rationalistic Period, and Manu belongs to the Buddhist Period. The remaining sixteen works are probably also based on ancient Sûtra works, but belong

in their present form to the Puranic Age, or to the centuries subsequent to the Mahommedan conquest of India.

And herein consists our difficulty. We cannot safely refer to these sixteen Dharma Sâstras for an account of the manners of the Puranic Age, because we do not know which of them belong to the Puranic Age, and which to later times. Some of them undoubtedly belong to the Puranic times, or even earlier—but chapters have been interpolated in these works in recent times, after the Mahommedan conquest. Others have various recensions, and those which are most commonly used in India are not the older recensions, but are modern ones compiled under the Mahommedan rule. Others, again, appear wholly to have been composed in this recent age. An account of the manners of the Hindus, drawn from the Dharma Sâstras, would therefore be an account of the Mahommedan times,—not of the Puranic Age which we are now seeking to describe. A few details about the sixteen Dharma Sâstras will illustrate this.

1. *Atri.*—The recension we have seen is a short work of less than four hundred couplets written in continuous sloka metre. It insists on the necessity of perusing modern Sâstras as well as the ancient Vedas (11); recommends bathing in the Falgu river and visiting Gadâdhara Deva (57); recommends the drinking of the water with which the feet of Siva and Vishnu have been washed; despises all Mlechchhas (180, 183); refers to the rite of the burning of widows (209); and has all the marks of a work composed or recast after the Mahommedan conquest.

2. *Vishnu.*—Of the sixteen Dharma Sâstras enumerated above, Vishnu is the only one in prose, and can therefore claim a high antiquity. Dr. Jolly points out its close resemblance with the Grihya Sûtra of the Kâthaka Kalpa Sûtra, which undoubtedly belongs to the Rationalistic Period; and he maintains with Dr. Bühler that the

bulk of the Vishnu Dharma Sâstra is really the ancient Dharma Sûtra of that Kalpa Sûtra. Nevertheless, this ancient work seems to have been repeatedly recast and modified. Dr. Bühler maintains that the whole work was recast by an adherent of Vishnu; and that the final and introductory chapters (in verse) were composed by another and a still later writer. The period in which the work was thus repeatedly recast is between the fourth and the eleventh century A.D.

As might be expected, the work has a very composite appearance. It contains chapters which are shown to have been quoted by Vasishtha and Baudhâyana of the Rationalistic Period, while it contains other passages which it has borrowed from Harivansa and other modern works. Chapter LXV contains ancient and genuine Kâthaka mantras transferred and adapted to a Vishnuite ceremony; chapter XCVII seeks to reconcile Sânkhya and Yoga Philosophy with the Vaishnava creed; Chapter LXXVIII enumerates the modern week days (Sunday to Saturday) which find no mention in ancient Sanscrit works; Chapter XX, 39, and XXV, 14 allude to the self-immolation of widows; Chapter LXXXIV prohibits the performance of Srâddha in the kingdom of Mlechchhas; and Chapter LXXXV refers to some fifty modern places of pilgrimage. The introductory chapter, which is in continuous sloka, and in which the Earth in the shape of a beautiful woman is introduced to Vishnu reposing with his consort Lakshmî in the milky sea, is probably among the latest of the hundred chapters comprising the existing work.

It is thus that our ancient works have been altered, recast, and tampered with, to the delight of the supporters of every new creed and every modern custom, but to the despair of the historian!

3. *Hârîta.*—This is another ancient work which has been completely recast in recent times. Hârîta is mentioned by Baudhâyana, Vasishtha, and Âpastamba, who

are all writers of the Rationalistic Period. Extracts from Hârîta found in the Mitâkshara and Dâyabhâga are all in aphoristic prose. But nevertheless the work of Hârîta which we have seen is in continuous sloka, and its contents, too, are modern. In the first chapter we are told the Puranic story that Vishnu lay with his consort Srî on the mythical snake in the midst of waters; and that a lotus grew on his navel, from which sprang Brahmâ, who created the world. In Chapter II there is mention of the worship of Narasinha Deva, and in Chapter IV of the worship of Vishnu; while the seventh or concluding chapter speaks of Yoga Sâstra.

4. *Yâjnavalkya.**—Stenzler and Lassen place Yâjnavalkya before the time of Vikramâditya, but after the rise of Buddhism. Later researches have enabled scholars to place Manu in the first or second century before or after the Christian Era; and as Yâjnavalkya comes undoubtedly after Manu, his probable date is the fifth century after Christ, *i.e.*, about the commencement of the Puranic Age. An examination of the contents of the work goes to some extent to confirm this opinion. In II, 296, there is an allusion to Buddhist nuns, and there are many allusions to Buddhist habits and doctrines. Manu allows men of the higher castes to marry Sûdra women; but Yâjnavalkya objects to that ancient custom (I, 56.) In many respects, however, Yâjnavalkya is nearer to Manu than to the later Dharma Sâstras, and on the whole Yâjnavalkya is the only work among the sixteen alluded to above which can be wholly relied on as a picture of the Puranic Age. The work is divided into three chapters; and contains over a thousand couplets.

5. *Usanas.*—In its present form this work is a very modern compilation. It speaks of the Hindu Trinity (III, 50); alludes to the self-immolation of widows (III,

* The reader must distinguish between the ancient Yâjnavalkya, the priest of Janaka, and the modern writer who has compiled the Dharma Sâstra.

117); condemns those who make voyages by sea (IV, 33); and recommends self-immolation in fire or water for sinners (VIII, 34). A wearisome multiplication of rules, prohibitions, and penances characterises this modern work, which is divided into nine chapters, and contains nearly six hundred couplets.

6. *Angiras.*—The work of this name which is before us is one short chapter of seventy-three couplets. It is a modern work, and condemns the cultivation of indigo as an impure trade unfit for pure castes.

7. *Yama.*—Yama is mentioned by Vasishtha of the Rationalistic Period; but the Yama smritis which exist in the present day are modern works, and could not have been meant by Vasishtha. We have a short work of seventy-eight couplets before us. Along with Angiras, it alludes to washermen, workers in leather, dancers, Barudas, Kaivartas, Medas, and Bhils as impure castes.

8. *Samvarta.*—A modern metrical work of over two hundred couplets, and little importance. Along with Yama, it considers washermen, dancers, and workers in leather as impure.

10. *Kâtyâyana* (whom the reader must distinguish from the ancient critic of Pânini) undertakes to throw light,—like a lamp,—on such rules and rites as were left obscure by Gobhila, whose Grihya Sûtra has been noticed by us in our account of the Rationalistic Period. Kâtyâyana's Dharma Sâstra, however, belongs to recent times, and is divided into twenty-nine chapters, with nearly five hundred couplets. In I, 11–14, we are told of the worship of Ganesa, and of the mothers,—Gaurî, Padmâ, Sachî, Sâvitrî, Jayâ, Vijayâ, &c.; and we are also told that the worship should be paid to their images or their likenesses painted on white canvas. In XII, 2 (which is in prose), there is a mention of the Hindu Trinity; in XIX, 7, Umâ is named; and in XX, 10, there is an allusion to Râma having performed sacrifice with a golden image of Sîtâ when the real Sîtâ was banished.

11. *Brihaspati.*—We have seen a small fragment in eighty couplets, which is apparently modern, and dwells on the merit of the gift of lands to Brâhmans, and tries to impress on its readers the terrible effects of a Brâhman's wrath. But a translation of an older and more reliable recension of Brihaspati has appeared in the Sacred Books of the East series.

12. *Parâsara* is admittedly one of the latest of the Dharma Sâstras. The compiler himself informs us (I, 23) that Manu was for the Satya Yuga, Gautama for Tretâ Yuga, Sankha and Likhita were for Dvâpara Yuga, and Parâsara is for the present Kali Yuga. We have an allusion to the Hindu Trinity (I, 19), and an allusion to the self-immolation of widows (IV, 28 and 29). Nevertheless, widow-marriage was prevalent even in this late age, and Parâsara allows a woman to marry again if her husband is not heard of or is dead, if he has become an ascetic or an outcast, or is impotent (IV, 26). The work is divided into twelve chapters, and has nearly six hundred couplets.

13. *Vyâsa** is still more recent. It mentions the Hindu Trinity, of course (III, 24), and commends the self-immolation of widows (II, 53); and the degradation of the different guilds and professions which composed the bulk of the nation is more complete in Vyâsa than in most other Dharma Sâstras. For a picture of the manners of the Hindus under Mahommedan rule, Vyâsa would furnish excellent materials. It is a short work divided into four chapters, and comprising over two hundred couplets.

14. *Sankha*, like Vishnu, is an ancient work but recast in verse in recent times, although two passages in prose are still embedded in it. Dr. Bühler supposes that the

* The reader must distinguish Parâsara and Vyâsa, the compilers of the modern Dharma Sâstras, from the ancient astronomer and the ancient compiler of the Vedas. The modern compilers had a weakness for assuming ancient names, probably to invest their works with a semblance of antiquity.

prose portion consists of genuine Sûtras taken from the original edition of Sankha, which belonged to the Rationalistic Period, and was entirely in aphorisms. There can be little doubt, however, that this edition is a comparatively modern one. In III, 7, we find mention of temples and of the image of Siva. In IV, 9, we find a prohibition against men of the upper castes marrying Sûdra women, a practice which is allowed by Manu. In VII, 20, the author speaks of Vâsudeva, a name of Vishnu. In XIV, 1–3, the author enumerates sixteen holy places; and in XIV, 4, there is a prohibition against performing Srâddha, or even journeys in Mlechcha countries. But even in this recent work, widow marriage is allowed (XV, 13). The work is divided into eighteen chapters, and contains over three hundred couplets.

15. *Likhita*, as we find it, is a short modern work in ninety-two couplets, and alludes to temples of gods (4), and to living in Benares (11), and offering cakes at Gayâ.

16. *Daksha* is also a modern work in seven chapters, and gives a pleasing picture of the domestic life and the duties of men and women. The picture is somewhat marred, however, by an allusion to the barbarous rite of the self-immolation of widows (IV, 20).

17. *Sâtâtapa* in its present shape is, like Vyâsa, one of the most recent of the sixteen Dharma Sâstras enumerated, and alludes to Rudra, with his three eyes (I, 19); to the worship of Vishnu (I, 22); to the image of Brahmâ, with his four faces (II, 5); and also to the image of Yama, mounted on a buffalo, and with a staff in his hand (II, 18). Vishnu claims worship here under the names of Srivatsalânchhana, Vâsudeva, and Jagannâtha; his image of gold is to be covered with garments, and after worship is to be given away to Brâhmans (II, 22–25). Sarasvatî, who is now the consort of Brahmâ, also claims worship (II, 28); and we are told that the Harivansa and the Mahâbhârata should be heard (II, 30 and 37) to wipe away sins. Further on we hear of the image of Ganesa

(II, 44), of the two Asvins (IV, 14), of Kuvera (V, 3), of Prachetas (V, 10), and of Indra (V, 17); all these golden images are to be made and worshipped only to be given away to Brâhmans; and indeed the object of this work seems to be to recommend profuse gifts to Brâhmans. There is no sin, no incurable disease, no domestic calamity, and no loss or injury to property which cannot be washed away by such gifts. As a picture of the form which Hindu religion assumed after the Mahommedan conquest, this work is valuable.

It will appear from the foregoing remarks that, with the exception of Yâjnavalkya and probably one or two others, the sixteen Dharma Sâstras are valueless as a picture of Hindu manners in the Puranic Age. Most of them have some value as pictures of the religion and manners of the Hindus living under the Mahommedan rule.

Unfortunately, the same remarks apply to some extent to the Purânas in the shape in which we have them now. They do not give us a natural and pleasing picture of the Hindu creed of the Puranic Age, but rather enter into sectarian disputes about the supremacy of particular gods,—Vishnu, Siva, &c. And we know that these sectarian disputes prevailed most when the Mahommedan ruled India. To a brief account of the Purânas we now turn.

II. PURÂNAS.

Amara Sinha, the lexicographer of the court of Vikramâditya, describes a Purâna as Panchalakshana, or having five characteristic topics; and scholiasts agree that these five topics are—I. Primary creation or cosmogony; II. Secondary creation, or destruction and renovation of worlds, including chronology; III. Genealogy of gods and patriarchs; IV. Reigns of Manu or periods called Manvantaras; V. History of the Solar and Lunar races and their modern descendants. The

Purânas which now exist, and which were recast after the Mahommedan conquest of India, very imperfectly conform to this definition.

The Purânas are divided into three classes, namely, those sacred to Vishnu, Siva, and Brahmâ respectively. Their names and the number of stanzas which they are supposed to contain, aggregating to 400,000, are given below :—

VAISHNAVA.		SAIVA.		BRAHMÂ.	
Vishnu	23,000	Matsya	14,000	Brahmânda	12,000
Nâradîya	25,000	Kûrma	17,000	Brahma Vaivarta	18,000
Bhâgavata	18,000	Linga	11,000	Mârkandeya	9,000
Garûda	19,000	Vâyu	24,000	Bhavishya	14,500
Padma	55,000	Skanda	81,100	Vâmana	10,000
Varâha	24,000	Agni	15,400	Brahmâ	10,000

It is impossible to make room in the present work for the barest outline of the contents of these voluminous books, the work of generations of priests labouring for centuries together to recast ancient mythology, history, and traditions, and also to preach modern cults and sectarian beliefs. We will only mention in a few words the salient features of each work.*

1. *Brahmâ Purâna.*—The early chapters give a description of the creation and an account of the solar and lunar dynasties to the time of Krishna. A brief description of the universe succeeds, after which we have an account of Orissa, with its holy temples and sacred groves dedicated to the Sun, to Siva, and to Jagannâtha. To this succeeds a life of Krishna, which is word for word the same as in the Vishnu Purâna, and the work ends with an account of the Yoga.

2. *Padma Purâna.*—This most voluminous of all the Purânas (excepting Skanda only) is divided into five books, namely,—(1) Srishti or Creation, (2) Bhûmî

* The reader will find a fuller account of the contents of the Purânas in Wilson's Preface to his Vishnu Purâna, pages xxvii to lxxxvi, from which our account is mainly taken.

or Earth, (3) Svarga or Heaven, (4) Pâtâla or the Lower Regions, and (5) Uttara Khanda, or Supplementary Chapter. The Srishti Khanda narrates the cosmogony and the genealogy of patriarchal families and also regal dynasties, and then comes to an account of the holiness of Lake Pushkara in Ajmir as a place of pilgrimage. The Bhûmî Khanda deals, in 127 chapters, with legends mostly relating to Tîrthas, which include persons entitled to honour, and also holy places of pilgrimage. This is followed by a description of the earth. The Svarga Khanda places Vaikuntha, the sphere of Vishnu, above all the heavens. It contains also rules of conduct for the several castes and the different stages of life, and also various legends, mostly modern. The Pâtâla Khanda takes us to the snake-world. There Sesha (serpent) narrates the story of Râma, and this is followed by an account of Krishna's juvenilities and the merits of worshipping Vishnu. The Uttara Khanda, which is probably later than the other portions of the Purâna, is intensely Vaishnava in its tone; the nature of Bhakti or faith in Vishnu, the use of the Vaishnava marks on the body, the legends of Vishnu's incarnations, and the construction of images of Vishnu, are all explained by Siva to his consort Pârvatî, and they both finish by adoring Vishnu! We are also told that of the Hindu Trinity, Vishnu alone is entitled to respect! There can be no doubt much of this sectarian controversy has been added after the Moslem conquest of India. There is mention, even in the earlier books of this Purâna, of Mlechchhas flourishing in India, while to the last portions of the work Dr. Wilson gives the fifteenth or sixteenth century A.D. as the probable date.

3. *Vishnu Purâna*, divided into six books.—The first book speaks of the creation of Vishnu and Lakshmî, and many legends, including those of Dhruva and Prahlâda. The second book describes the earth, with its seven islands and seven seas, and also describes Bhâratavarsha

and the nether regions, the planetary system, the sun, the moon, &c. The third book speaks of the Veda and its division into four Vedas by Krishna Dvaipâyana Vyâsa in the Dvâpara Yuga. It also names the eighteen Purânas, details the duties of the four castes and the four orders of life, and dwells on domestic and social ceremonies and srâddhas. The last chapter condemns Buddhists and Jainas. The fourth book gives us a history of the Solar and Lunar dynasties, and concludes with lists of the kings of Magadha, which we have quoted in Book IV, Chapter III. The fifth book is specially devoted to an account of Krishna, his boyish tricks, his sports with Gopîs, and his various deeds in life. The sixth and last book, again, inculcates devotion to Vishnu as sufficient to earn salvation for all castes and persons, and ends with chapters on Yoga and final emancipation.

4. *Vâyu Purâna*, otherwise called the Siva or Saiva Purâna, is divided into four books. The first speaks of creation and the first evolution of beings. The second continues the subject of creation, and describes the various kalpas, gives us genealogies of the patriarchs, a description of the universe and the incidents of the Manvantaras, mixed up with legends and praises of Siva. The third book describes the different classes of creatures, and furnishes us with accounts of the Solar and Lunar dynasties and other kings. The fourth and last book speaks of the efficacy of the Yoga and the glory of Siva, with whom the Yogin is to be finally united.

5. *Bhâgavata Purâna*, better known as Srimat Bhâgavata, is considered the holiest of the Purânas, at least in the estimation of the Vaishnava sects. The work begins as usual with cosmogony. Vâsudeva is the supreme and active creator; the creation, the world is Mâyâ, or illusion. We are also told that all castes, and even Mlechchhas may learn to have faith in Vâsudeva—a purely Vaishnava doctrine. In the third book we have an account of the creation of Brahmâ, of the Varâha incarnation of Vishnu,

and of his incarnation as Kapila, the author of Sânkhya philosophy! The traditions of Dhruva, Vena, Prithu, and Bhârata are given in the fourth and fifth books; a variety of legends, intended to inculcate the worship of Vishnu, fill the sixth; the legend of Prahlâda is given in the seventh; while numerous other legends are narrated in the eighth. The ninth book narrates the Solar and Lunar dynasties; while the tenth book, which is the characteristic part of the work, is entirely appropriated to the life of Krishna. The eleventh book describes the destruction of the Yâdavas and the death of Krishna; and the twelfth and last book gives lists of later kings, like what we have in the Vishnu Purâna.

6. *Nârada Purâna.*—This work contains a variety of prayers to Vishnu, and legends inculcating devotion to Hari. Another work, called Brihat Nâradîya Purâna, contains similar prayers to Vishnu, injunctions to observe various rites, and to keep holy seasons in honour of him, as well as various legends. Both these works are very recent, and Dr. Wilson conjectures they are not the original works mentioned in the list of eighteen Purânas.

7. *Mârkandeya Purâna* occupies itself mainly with a narration of legends. Legends of Vritra's death, of Baladeva's penance, of Harischandra, and of the quarrel between Vasishthâ and Visvâmitra are followed by a discussion about birth, death, sin, and hell. Then follows a description of creation and of the Manvantaras. An account of the future Manvantara leads to a narrative of the actions of the goddess Durgâ, which is the special boast of this Purâna, and is the text-book of the worship of Chandî or Durgâ. It is the famous Chandî Pâtha; and this portion of the work is read to the present day in Hindu households, as well as in temples of Durgâ.

8. *Agni Purâna.*—The early chapters describe the incarnations of Vishnu. This is followed by accounts of religious ceremonies, many of which belong to the Tântrika

ritual, and some to mystical forms of Saiva worship. Interspersed with these are chapters descriptive of the earth and the universe. These are followed by chapters on the duties of kings, on the art of war, and on laws, after which we have an account of the Vedas and Purânas. The genealogical lists are meagre. Medicine, Rhetoric, Prosody, and Grammar conclude the work.

9. *Bhavishya Purâna*, with its continuation the *Bhavishyottara Purâna*.—The first treats of creation, explains the Sanskâras and the duties of the different castes and orders of life, and describes various rites. All this, which occupies about one-third of the work, is followed by conversations between Krishna, his son, Sâmba, Vasishtha, Nârada, and Vyâsa, on the power and glory of the sun. "There is some curious matter in the last chapters relating to the Magas, silent worshippers of the sun, from Sâkadvîpa; as if the compiler had adopted the Persian term Magh, and connected the fire-worshippers of Iran with those of India."* The Bhavishyottara is, like the Bhavishya, a sort of manual of religious offices.

10. *Brahma Vaivarta Purâna*.—It is divided into four books, describing the acts of Brahmâ, Devî, Ganesa, and Krishna respectively. The original character of the work has, however, been much altered; the present work is decidedly sectarian, and prominence is given to Krishna over all other deities. The great mass of the existing work is taken up with descriptions of Vrindâvana, with endless prayers to Krishna, and with tiresome descriptions of the loves of Râdhâ and the Gopîs.

11. *Linga Purâna*.—The work begins with an account of creation, and Siva is the creator. The appearance of the great fiery Linga takes place in the interval of a creation, and Brahmâ and Vishnu are humbled. The Vedas proceed from the Linga, by which Brahmâ and Vishnu become enlightened, and acknowledge the superior glory of Siva. Another creation follows, Siva repeats the

* Wilson, Preface to *Vishnu Purâna*, lxiv.

story of his twenty-eight incarnations (intended, no doubt, as a counterpart of the twenty-four incarnations of Vishnu* in the Bhâgavata Purâna), and this is followed by a description of the universe and of the regal dynasties to the time of Krishna. Legends, rites, and prayers to Siva succeed. It is noticeable that even in the Linga Purâna "there is nothing like the phallic orgies of antiquity; it is all mystical and spiritual." †

12. *Varâha Purâna.*—The work is almost wholly occupied with forms of prayer and rules for devotional observances addressed to Vishnu, interspersed with legendary illustrations. A considerable portion of the work is taken up with accounts of various Tîrthas or places of Vaishnava pilgrimage.

13. *Skanda Purâna.*—This work, the most voluminous of all the Purânas, is not a work in a collective form, but exists in fragments, the aggregate of which exceeds the limit of 81,100 stanzas of which the Purâna is said to consist. The Kâsî Khanda is a minute description of the temples of Siva in Benares, mixed with directions for worship and a variety of legends. The Utkala Khanda gives an account of the holiness of Orissa and of Jagannâtha, and is no doubt a later appendage by Vaishnava writers, who thus added an account of a Vaishnava Tîrtha to an eminently Saiva Purâna. Besides the different Khandas, there are several Sanhitâs and numerous Mâhâtmyas included in this very composite Purâna.

14. *Vâmana Purâna.*—Contains an account of the dwarf-incarnation of Vishnu. The worship of Linga is also treated of, but the main object of the work is to celebrate the sanctity of holy places in India, and the Purâna therefore is little else than a succession of Mâhâtmyas. Legends of Daksha's sacrifice, of the burning of Kâma-

* The idea of Vishnu's twenty-four incarnations was probably originally borrowed from the story of the twenty-four Buddhas who were born before Gautama Buddha.

† Wilson, Preface to *Vishnu Purâna*, lxix.

deva, of the marriage of Siva and Umâ and the birth of Kârtikeya, of the greatness of Bali and his subjugation by Krishna as a dwarf—all come in apparently as reasons for particular sites and Tîrthas being considered holy.

15. *Kûrma Purâna.*—The name of this, as of the preceding Purâna, is that of an incarnation of Vishnu, but nevertheless Kûrma is classed with Saiva Purânas, and the greater portion of it inculcates the worship of Siva and Durgâ. The first part of the Purâna deals with creation, the incarnations of Vishnu, the solar and lunar dynasties up to the time of Krishna, the universe, and the Manvantaras; and with these are mixed up hymns to Mahasvara, and various Saiva legends. The second part deals with the knowledge of Siva through contemplation and through Vedic rites.

16. *Matsya Purâna.*—The work opens with an account of the Matsya or fish—incarnation of Vishnu. The story is no doubt a development of the simpler legend in the Satapatha Brâhmana, which bears so curious a resemblance to the story of Noah and the Deluge in the Old Testament. In the Purâna it is Vishnu who, in the shape of a fish, preserves Manu with the seeds of all things in an ark from the waters of an inundation. Whilst the ark floats, fastened to the fish, Manu enters into conversation with him, and his questions and Vishnu's replies form the main substance of the Purâna. The creation, the royal dynasties, and the duties of the different orders, are successively dealt with. Legends about Siva's marriage with Umâ and the birth of Kârtekeya follow, and these are mixed up with Vaishnava legends. Some Mâhâtmyas are introduced, including the Narmadâ-Mâhâtmya; and there are chapters on law and morals, on the making of images, on future kings, and on gifts.

17. *Garûda Purâna.*—It contains a brief notice of the creation, but is mainly occupied with religious observances, holidays, prayers from the Tântrika ritual, astrology, palmistry, medicine, &c. The last portion of the

work is taken up with directions for the performance of obsequial rites. There is no account in the existing work of the birth of Garuda, and it is possible that the original Garuda Purâna has been lost to us.

18. *Brahmânda Purâna.*—This work, like the Skanda, is no longer to be found as a collective work, but exists in fragments; and later writers have taken advantage of this to attach various independent treatises from time to time to the non-existent original. A very curious work, called the Âdhyâtma Râmâyana, is considered to be a part of the Brahmânda Purâna.

The above rapid review of the contents of the eighteen voluminous Purânas sufficiently indicates the nature of the works. The eighteen works were originally composed or recast in the Puranic Period, and existed when Alberuni visited India in the eleventh century; but there can be no doubt that they have been considerably modified and enlarged since, specially by Saiva and Vaishnava writers, who were anxious to establish the supremacy of their respective creeds. Siva was the first popular god of the Puranic Period, as we find in the annals of Orissa and some other provinces, as well as in the classic literature of the Puranic Age. Krishna, who is scarcely much known to Kâlidâsa, Bhâravi, Bânabhatta Bhavabhûti, and other classic authors, became the popular god of the Hindus at a later date; Mâgha and Jayadeva celebrated his deeds in the eleventh and twelfth centuries; and all through the Musalman rule, Krishna was no doubt the most favourite deity of the Hindus. Much of the Purânas dwelling on the sports and loves of Krishna, as well as all the portions dealing with the worship of Siva or Sakti according to the Tântrika ritual, appear to be productions of centuries subsequent to the Mahommedan conquest. It is because the Purânas have been so much changed and recast after the Moslem conquest, that they are unsafe and unreliable as a picture of Hindu life and manners in the Puranic Age.

Beside these eighteen Pûranas, an equal number of Upa-Purânas are mentioned, but the lists given by different authorities vary. The Upa-Purânas are certainly more recent than the Purânas, and have probably all been composed since the Mahommedan conquest. The best known among the Upa-Purânas is the Kâlikâ, dedicated to the worship of Siva's wife, and essentially a Sâkta work. It describes the sacrifice of Daksha and the death of Satî, and proceeds to narrate that Siva carried his wife's corpse about the world, that the different portions of the corpse were scattered in different parts of India, and that these places accordingly became sacred. Lingas erected in these spots draw hundreds of thousands of pilgrims year after year to the present day. Such are the myths believed, and such are the religious rites practised by the descendants of those who sang the hymns of the Veda, and started the deep and earnest inquiries of the Upanishads!

III. TANTRAS.

But Hindu literature in the period of the Mahommedan rule presents us even with a stranger aberration of human fancy and human credulity. The Yoga system of philosophy degenerated into various strange practices, by which supernatural powers, it was believed, could be obtained. We have evidence of this even in Bhavabhûti, who lived in the eighth century A.D.; but, later on, the system was developed into stranger forms. The works known as the Tantras—creations of the last period of Hindu degeneracy under a foreign rule—give us elaborate accounts of dark, cruel, and obscene practices for the acquisition of supernal powers. And, by an audacious myth, these strange products of "the mind diseased" were ascribed to the deity Siva himself! The number of Tantras is said to be sixty-four; we have seen some of them which have been published in Calcutta.

Ignorance is credulous, and feebleness hankers after

power. And when a superstitious ignorance and a senile feebleness had reached their last stage of degeneracy, men sought by unwholesome practices and unholy rites to acquire that power which Providence has rendered attainable only by a free and healthy exercise of our faculties,—moral, intellectual, and physical. To the historian, the Tantra literature represents, not a special phase of Hindu thought, but a diseased form of the human mind, which is possible only when the national life has departed, when all political consciousness has vanished, and the lamp of knowledge is extinct.

CHAPTER VIII.

CASTE.

WE have seen in the last Book that the great Aryan population of India (except priests and kings) was still a united body in the Buddhist Period, and had not yet been disunited into the profession-castes of modern times. The tendency to disintegration was greater in the Puranic Period, and we have frequent allusions to different professions distinctly marked off from each other. But nevertheless an impartial examination of the evidence available will convince a candid reader that the profession-castes of the modern times were not completely formed even in the Puranic Period, and that the body of the people was still one united caste,—the Vaisya,—engaged in various professions. The complete disintegration of the nation into numerous and distinct profession-castes was subsequent to the Moslem conquest of India and the national death of the Hindus.

It is scarcely necessary to premise that we will, in this chapter, refer only to Yâjnavalkya and one or two other Dharma Sâstras which are of the Puranic Age. On the Dharma Sâstras composed or completely recast after the Mahommedan conquest, we cannot safely place any reliance.

All the Dharma Sâstras of the Puranic Period refer to the four great castes, viz., the Brâhmans, the Kshatriyas, the Vaisyas, and the Sûdras. The first three castes were still entitled to the performance of religious rites, and to the study of the Veda. Their respective duties were to teach the Veda, to practise arms, and to tend cattle;

and their modes of livelihood were for a Brâhman to sacrifice for others and to receive alms; for a Kshatriya to protect the people; and for a Vaisya, tillage, keeping cows, traffic, money-lending, and growing seeds. (*Vishnu*, II).

The duty of the Sûdra was to serve the other castes, and his mode of livelihood was to follow different branches of art (*Vishnu*, II). He could also trade (*Yâjnavalkya*, I, 120), and no doubt followed various other professions.

Yâjnavalkya tells us the old story of the production of mixed castes by the union of men and women of different parent castes. His thirteen mixed castes are here enumerated:—

Father.	*Mother.*	*Caste formed.*
Brâhman.	Kshatriya.	Mûrdhâbhishikta.
Do.	Vaisya.	Ambashta.
Do.	Sûdra.	Nishâda or Pârasava.
Kshatriya.	Vaisya.	Mâhishya.
Do.	Sûdra.	Ugra.
Vaisya.	Sûdra.	Karana.
Kshatriya.	Brâhman.	Sûta.
Vaisya.	Do.	Vaidehaka.
Sûdra.	Do.	Chandâla.
Vaisya.	Kshatriya.	Mâgadha.
Sûdra.	Do.	Kshattri.
Do.	Vaisya.	Âyogava.
Mâhisya.	Karana.	Rathakâra.

(*Yâjnavalkya*, I, 91-95.)

It is scarcely necessary to point out once again that these so-called mixed castes are not the modern profession-castes of India, but are, most of them, names of aboriginal tribes who were gradually assuming Hindu rites and civilisation, without, however, being completely merged in the recognised Sûdra caste. It would almost seem that Yâjnavalkya had some notion of these tribes being gradually fused with the Hindus, for immediately after the enumeration given above, he informs us that

inferior castes can rise in the seventh, or even in the fifth Yuga, according to works (I, 96).

The so-called "mixed castes," then, do not reveal to us the origin of the profession-castes of modern India. How have these modern castes originated? The Puranic Dharma Sâstras will throw some light on the subject.

Kâyasthas find no mention in Manu, because the practice of appointing scribes for every law court and public office did not generally prevail in the Buddhist Period. In the Puranic Period the scribes were already a numerous and influential body, attended judges in court, attested documents, and performed all the clerical work connected with the administration of law. Not unoften they were engaged in more ambitious duties, and were appointed by kings to administer finances, raise taxes, keep the accounts of the State, and perform all the duties which devolve on a finance minister in the modern day. We read, in a dramatic work called the Mrichchhakati, that a Kâyastha or record-keeper attended the judge in court; and Kahlana, in his history of Kashmir, frequently speaks of Kâyasthas as accountants and tax-gatherers, and financiers under kings. They soon incurred the wrath of the priests, for they raised their taxes from all, and exempted none, and we accordingly find that Kahlana himself condemns them in no measured terms. Passing over such pardonable ebullition of the priestly taxpayer's anger, we are grateful to learn, from passages in the works of the Puranic Period, how the profession arose in India, and what its original duties were. It is probable that the class was recruited mainly from the people—the Kshatriyas and the Vaisyas; Brâhmans would scarcely condescend to take up such appointments, and Sûdras had not the necessary qualification.* After the Moslem conquest, the profession was formed into an inviolable and distinct caste.

* In this chapter and elsewhere we have stated that Kâyasthas and Vaidyas are descended from the ancient Kshatriyas and Vaisyas. A contro-

Yâjnavalkya tells us (I, 336), that the king should protect his people from deceivers, thieves, violent men, robbers, and others, and especially from Kâyasthas. If we take the word in its modern sense of caste, the passage has no sense, and the necessity for protection from a particular caste is not obvious. If, on the other hand, we take the word to mean rapacious tax-gatherers, we can well understand the feeling of the writer who classed them with thieves and robbers. Such compliments are paid to tax-gatherers to the present day. And it is significant that although Yâjnavalkya speaks of the Kâyasthas, he does not mention them in his list of mixed castes. This fact demonstrates that the Kâyasthas were only a profession, not a distinct caste, in the Puranic Age.

Our next quotation will be from Vishnu. In his celebrated chapter on documents, he classifies them under three heads, viz., (1) those attested by the king, answering to the registered documents of the present day; (2) those attested by other witnesses; and (3) those not attested at all. And the writer goes on to say that "a document is said to be attested by the king when it has been prepared in the king's office by the Kâyastha appointed by the king, and marked by the hand (or signature) of the head of the office." Here, again, the word Kâyastha has little sense if it means

versy is going on since many years past, and reasons have been advanced to show that Kâyasthas are Kshatriyas. We have not entered into the merits of this controversy, and we are unable to give an opinion on the subject. Our main contention is that the modern Kâyasthas and Vaidyas are not Sûdras, nor the product of a hybrid mixture of castes; that they are the sons of the ancient Aryan population of India, and have formed separate castes, because they have embraced separate professions. It is possible that Kâyasthas have been mainly recruited from the Kshatriya stock, and that poor relations of kings gladly accepted the posts of accountants and record-keepers in the royal courts. We are informed that to the present day the period of impurity for Kâyasthas in Northern India, on the death of relations, is the same as is prescribed for Kshatriyas.

a particular caste. Dr. Jolly translates it simply as "scribe," and he is right. Kâyasthas meant in the Puranic Period what we now mean by "Muharrars," and nothing more.

We next come to the Vaidyas or physicians, to whom the Dharma Sâstras are scarcely more complimentary than to the Kâyasthas. If scribes have been classed with thieves and robbers, physicians have been classed by Yâjnavalkya with thieves, prostitutes, and others, whose food cannot be taken (I, 162). But what we wish to point out distinctly is that Yâjnavalkya has not included Vaidyas in his list of mixed castes; and this demonstrates that the Vaidyas were a profession, not a caste, in the Puranic Age. Upholders of the modern caste-system seek to identify Vaidyas with the Ambashthas of the ancient Sûtra writers, and of Manu and Yâjnavalkya. The Ambashthas are described by Vasishtha as a mixed caste, a cross between Brâhmans and Kshatriyas, and by Manu and Yâjnavalkya as a cross between Brâhmans and Vaisyas. And Manu further adds that the Ambashthas practised medicine (X, 47). On this slender ground, the modern Vaidyas are all identified with this mixed caste;—as if the Aryan Hindus did not practise the healing art until amorous Brâhman youths pursued and embraced girls of a humbler class,—as if the science of medicine was unknown among Aryan Hindus until the production of a hybrid mixed caste! The modern reader will brush aside such idle myths, and will unhesitatingly recognise the fact that the modern Vaidyas are descended from the ancient Aryan *people*, the Vaisyas, and have formed a separate caste, because they have followed a separate profession. And as in the case of Kâyasthas, so in the case of Vaidyas, it is possible that descendants of royal Kshatriya races, like the Sena kings of Bengal, have become merged in the modern profession-caste.

But although the different professions were not formed into separate castes in the Puranic Age, yet, as we have

seen in the case of Kâyasthas and Vaidyas, the different professions and trades came to be looked upon with disfavour. The caste-system, which unduly exalted the powers and privileges of priests, had the inevitable result of degrading all honest trades and industries other than that of priests. We noted this in the pages of Manu himself; we note this still more prominently in the pages of Yâjnavalkya. In a passage which we have referred to before (I, 160–165), he condemns a large class of professions as impure, and classes physicians, goldsmiths, blacksmiths, weavers, dyers, armourers, and oil manufacturers with thieves and prostitutes! Thus the caste-system in its later phase has served a twofold object, as our readers will note from passages like these. It has served to *divide the nation* and create mutual ill-feeling. And it has served to *degrade the nation* in order to exalt the priests.

CHAPTER IX.

HINDU AND JAINA ARCHITECTURE AND SCULPTURE.

WE have in a previous chapter spoken of Buddhist architecture in India. The history of Buddhist architecture closes with the fifth century, and there are few specimens of any importance after 500 A.D. On the other hand, Hindu temple architecture, judging from existing specimens, begins at this date and continues down to long after the Mahommedan conquest of India. These facts, which are recorded on imperishable stone all over India, confirm and justify the division which we have made between the Buddhist Period and the later Hindu or Puranic Period.

NORTHERN INDIAN STYLE.

The earliest specimens of Hindu temple architecture, then, date from 500 A.D., and these specimens are to be found in their purity, as well as in the greatest profusion, in Orissa. The student who has paid a visit to the town of Bhuvanesvara, in Orissa, knows more of Hindu temple architecture in its purity than pages of description are likely to teach him.

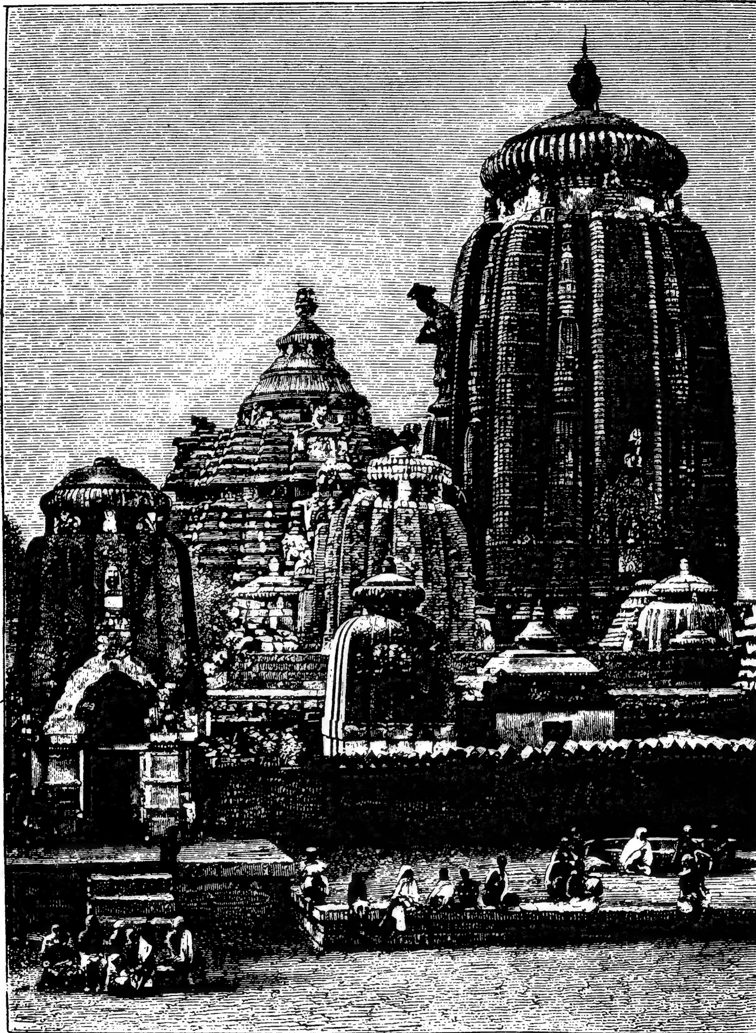
The North Indian style has some distinct and well-defined features, which are noticeable in all the earlier structures all over Northern India. The outline of the high tower of Vimâna is curvilinear, and it is surmounted by what is called an *Amalaka*, from the name of a fruit which it is supposed to resemble. No trace of division

into storeys is observable, and there are no pillars or pilasters anywhere. The porch, on the other hand, has a conical top with a series of cornices. The illustration in the next page will explain our remarks. Dr. Fergusson points out that the modern temples of Benares (and no existing Benares temple is over two centuries old) retain, in spite of modifications, the same characteristic features as the Vimânas of Orissa built twelve centuries ago.*

Several hundreds of temples are said to have been built in Bhuvanesvara, and numerous specimens still remain, and strike the beholder with astonishment. The most celebrated of them is what is called the Great Temple of Bhuvanesvara, and was built between 617 and 657 A.D. The original structure, consisting of the Vimâna and the porch, was 160 feet in length; the Nâta Mandir and the Bhoga Mandir were added in the twelfth century. The interior of the Vimâna is a square of 66 feet, and the tower rises to 180 feet. The whole edifice is of stone, and the exterior is covered with the most elaborate carving and sculpture work. Every individual stone has a pattern carved on it, and this wonderful carving is estimated to have cost three times as much as the erection of the building itself. "Most people would be of opinion that a building four times as large would produce a greater and more imposing effect; but this is not the way a Hindu ever looked at the matter. Infinite labour bestowed on every detail was the mode in which he thought he could render his temple most worthy of the Deity; and, whether he was right or wrong, the effect of the whole is certainly marvellously beautiful. . . . The sculpture is of a very high order and great beauty of design" (*Fergusson*, p. 422).

* It is scarcely necessary to inform our readers that all the facts embodied in this chapter are from Dr. Fergusson's excellent and exhaustive work on the *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture.*

The far-famed "Black Pagoda" of Kanarak, of which



THE GREAT TEMPLE OF BHUVANESVARA.

the porch now alone remains, is supposed to have been

built in 1241 A.D.; but Dr Fergusson maintains, with good reason, that it was built in 850 or 873 A.D. The floor is 40 feet square; the roof slopes inward till it contracts to about 20 feet, where it is ceiled with one flat stone roof supported by wrought-iron beams 21 or 23 feet long, showing a knowledge of forging iron which has been lost to the Hindus since. The exterior is carved "with infinite beauty and variety on all their twelve faces, and the antefixœ at the angles, and bricks are used with an elegance and judgment a true Yavana could hardly have surpassed" (*Fergusson*, p. 428).

Next we come to the great temple of Jagannâtha at Puri, built after the Vaishnava faith had supplanted the Saiva religion as the prevailing creed of Orissa. It is not merely the change in creed, but the degeneracy in the spirit of Hinduism that is stamped on this later edifice of 1174 A.D. "It is not, however, only in the detail, but the outline, the proportions, and every arrangement of the temple show that the art, in this province at least, had received a fatal downward impetus from which it never recovered" (*Fergusson*, p. 430).

The Vimâna of this temple is 85 feet across the centre, and rises to a height of 192 feet; with the porch the total length is 155 feet; while with the Nâta Mandir and the Bhoga Mandir it is, like the Great Temple of Bhuvanesvara, 300 feet in length.

The province of Bundelkund is rich in ancient Hindu temples, richer than any other province in Northern India, except Orissa. Khajuraho in Bundelkund boasts of a group of some thirty great temples, nearly all of which belong to the century from 950 to 1050 A.D.; the first century, as our readers will remember, of Rajput supremacy succeeding to the dark age of political convulsions. An excellent woodcut given in Dr. Fergusson's work, of one of these temples, shows the modification which the Orissa style had undergone. The one tall Vimâna is surrounded by a number of smaller Vimânas, adjoining to it on all

sides. The basement is high, and is surrounded by three rows of sculptured figures. General Cunningham counted 872 statues, mixed up with a profusion of vegetable forms and conventional details. The height of the temple is 116 feet, *i.e.*, 88 feet above its floor, and the outward appearance is elaborately ornate and rich.

In Bhopal territory there is a perfect example of a temple of the eleventh century. It was built by a king of Malwa in 1060 A.D. The Vimâna is ornamented by four flat bands of great beauty and elegance, and the *Amalaka* surmounting it is also exquisite in design. The carving on the temple is marked throughout by precision and delicacy.

Pass we on to Rajputana. Among the celebrated ruins of Chittore we have seen the temples built by the queen of Kumbhu. Kumbhu was a great conqueror, and was a Jaina by faith, and erected the Jaina temple at Sadri and the marble pillar of victory at Chittore. His queen, Meera Bye, seems to have been an orthodox Hindu, and built two temples (1418–1468 A.D.), which are now in ruins, and overgrown with trees. The style both of the Vimâna and of the porch is, of course, that of the Orissa temples. There is a colonnade round the temple, with four little pavilions at the four corners, and this is repeated in the portico.

There are specimens of ancient temples in the Mahârâshtra country, but neither so rich nor so numerous as in Orissa. The interest of the Mahratta temples consists in the fact that here the Orissa or North Indian style struggles with the Dravidian or South Indian style for supremacy. The Mahrattas are a people of the Dravidian race, but their early contact with the Aryans and assumption of Aryan civilisation inclined them to adopt the Aryan or North Indian style. Hence traces of both styles are observable in their structures.

While specimens of early temple architecture are thus numerous in Orissa, in Bundelkund, in Malwa, in Mahâ-

râshtra, and in Rajputana, why are they so rare in the very home of the Indo-Aryans, in the basin of the Ganges and the Jumna? The reply is obvious. In the twelfth century the Mahommedans conquered the basin of the Ganges and the Jumna, and not only demolished the old existing temples to raise mosques and minars with the stone, but effectually stopped the further progress of temple architecture. A vigorous progress in arts is not possible when political life is extinct; and such feeble attempts as might otherwise have been witnessed were stopped by the bigoted conquerors. Hindu independence still lingered in Rajputana, Mahârâshtra, Malwa, Bundelkund, and Orissa; and hence in those provinces we find older temples left uninjured, and later temples erected.

A great temple was built at Vrindâvana by Man Sing, under the tolerant emperor Akbar; but it is said the lofty spire of the temple offended the eyes of the very devout Aurungzebe, and the temple was knocked down. Every visitor to Vrindâvana has seen what remains of this temple, which has to some extent been restored by the British Government.

Temple architecture still adhered, though with considerable modifications, to the old Orissa style, but adopted new designs from the Saracenic style. We see this in the modern temples of Benares, in the temple of Visvesvara, for instance. The original Vimâna of the Orissa temple is attenuated, and multiplied so as to form a number of small Vimânas round the central one; and the porch, instead of having the conical roof of Orissa, has a dome of the Saracenic style, very elegant, but not in keeping with the style of the temple. In Bengal a new element of beauty was borrowed from the gracefully bent roofs of the ordinary thatched huts of the people. Temples built of stone are almost unknown in Bengal, but brick temples dedicated to Siva are built, with their cornices gracefully bent in imitation of thatched roofs, and the walls are sometimes covered with elaborate designs in

terra-cotta. The pointed arches in these temples are borrowed from the Saracenic style, and altogether the modern Bengal temples of Siva are about as wide a departure from the original North Indian style as could well be imagined.

Jaina architecture in Northern India adopted the Orissa type of Vimâna, but in course of time resorted to the graceful Saracenic dome also. The practice of grouping temples is more largely resorted to by Jainas than by the followers of any other religion. Rich individuals, belonging to the middle classes, contribute temple after temple from century to century; and while each individual temple lacks the grandeur of Hindu temples built by royal command, the collection of temples in course of time converts a hill-side or a sacred spot into a city of temples. Such are the temples of Palitana in Gujrat, some of which are as old as the eleventh century, and the latest of which have been constructed in the present century. The shrines in hundreds cover the summits of two extensive hills and the valley lying between, and the general effect of the entire collection of edifices is superb.

Girnar is a spot celebrated in Indian history. Asoka the Great carved a copy of his Edicts there, and kings of the Shah and the Gupta lines recorded their inscriptions. Groups of Jaina temples have been erected here since the tenth century, one of them by the brothers Tejpala and Bastupala, builders of one of the famous temples of Abu. Not far from the hill of Girnar was the ancient temple of Somnath, destroyed by Mahmud of Guzni.

But the pride of Jaina architecture are the two unrivalled temples at Abu.* Alone among the temples

* Abu is not far from the nearest railway station. The present writer visited the spot in 1883, proceeding by a winding path up the hill, sixteen miles in length. But another road less than half as long was under construction.

of India, they are built entirely of white marble, which must have been quarried and taken from a distance of over 300 miles. One of these temples was built by Vimala Shah about 1032, and the other, as stated above, by the brothers Tejapala and Bastupala between 1197 and 1247. The porch is supported on elegant pillars exquisitely carved, and the inside of the dome is ornamented with elegant and exquisite designs unequalled in India.

SOUTHERN INDIAN STYLE.

We now turn to the Southern Indian or Dravidian style, which is entirely distinct from the Northern style. Roughly speaking, the structures of the Peninsula south of the Krishna river are built in this style.

No connection between the Buddhist style and the style of the structural edifices in Northern India has been traced. The style of the earliest temples in Orissa shows no traces of the Buddhist style. The oldest of those temples are perfect structural edifices—perfect in their design and execution—and the history of the style can be traced no further backwards.

The Dravidian or Southern style, however, is shown to have grown out of the Buddhist style of excavation. The earliest existing specimens of Dravidian temples were excavated, not built. And in their latest developments, the Dravidian built edifices still bore marks of their origin.

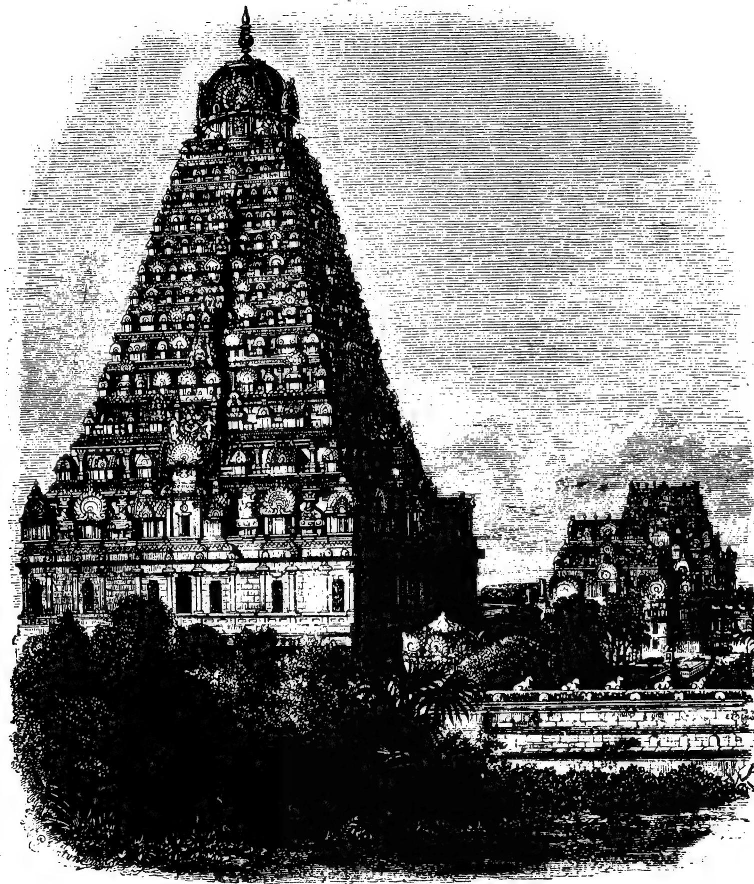
Ellora is far to the north of the river Krishna. There can be little doubt, however, judging from the design and construction, that the edifices at Ellora belong to the Dravidian type. The temple of Kailâsa was erected in the eighth or ninth century, and the Dravidians of the south, the mighty Cholas, are supposed to have extended their conquests northward about this period, during the eclipse of the power of the Chalukyas. This explains the existence of this remarkable

specimen of the Dravidian style so far to the north of the Krishna river.

An extensive pit 270 feet by 150 feet is excavated in the solid rock. In the centre of this rectangle stands the temple, with a Vimâna 80 to 90 feet high, a large porch supported by sixteen columns, a detached porch connected by a bridge, and a Gopura or gateway. There are besides two dîpadâns or lamp-posts, and cells all round. It is on the model of a complete structural temple, but carved out of solid rock; and the monolithic character of these vast edifices gives to them an air of solidity, strength, and grandeur which strikes all beholders. The cells all round are in imitation of Buddhist edifices, but each of the seven cells is devoted to a separate Hindu deity. The arrangement shows the Hindu style emerging out of the older Buddhist style.

When we turn from the rock-cut temples to the structural temples of Southern India, we are struck with the very recent dates which must be assigned to all the greatest and best among them. Temple architecture in the Southern style was carried on with remarkable vigour and assiduity in the south of the Krishna river, during the long centuries when Northern India and even the Deccan were under the Musalman rule. And the temple builders of the south did not rest from their labours until the English and the French were struggling for mastery in the Carnatic in the last century! One of the oldest of the great structural temples in the south is the Great Pagoda of Tanjore; but no earlier date than the fourteenth century can be claimed for it, and it is supposed to have been built by a king of Conjeveram—the classic Kânchî. The perpendicular base is two storeys in height, and above this the construction tapers like a pyramid, rising in thirteen storeys to the summit, which is crowned by a dome said to consist of one single massive stone. The total height is 190 feet, and the appearance of this magnificent structure

is elegant and graceful. Sufficiently removed in style from the rock-cut temples of Ellora, it nevertheless bears traces of the same design.



THE GREAT PAGODA OF TANJORE.

One of the most venerated and most ancient of the temples of Southern India is that of Chillambaram, on the sea-coast, a little to the north of the mouth of the

Kaveri river. It was certainly commenced in the tenth or eleventh century, but the most imposing edifices of the temple have been built in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries. To these centuries must be assigned the great Gopuras or gateways, the temple of Pârvatî, and the magnificent hall of 1000 columns. The porch of the temple of Pârvatî is remarkably elegant. The pillars of the hall of 1000 columns are arranged 24 in front and 41 in depth, and this "forest of granite pillars, each of a single stone, and all more or less carved and ornamented," produces a grandeur of effect.

The magnificent temple at Seringham, close to Tanjore, was built in the last century; and indeed the progress of the building was stopped by its being occupied and fortified by the French in their ten years' struggle with the English for the possession of Trichinopoly. The fourteen or fifteen elaborately carved and ornamented gateways produce an imposing effect when viewed from a distance. But there is no central and superior structure rising above the rest, and this is a want common to nearly all the great temples of Southern India. They are all more or less collections of structures, bewildering in their richness and beauty, but the eye does not rest on any central imposing structure, as in the temples of Northern India.

Madura boasts of a great temple, commenced, it is said, in the sixteenth century, but the temple itself was built by Trimulla Nayak in the seventeenth century. It is a great rectangle, about 720 feet by 840 feet, possessing nine Gopuras and a hall of 1000 columns, whose sculptures and elaborate designs excel those of most other edifices of the class. Besides the temple, Madura also has a far-famed Choultrie, also built by the same Nayak for the reception of the presiding deity on the occasion of his visit of ten days to the king. It is a great hall 333 feet by 105 feet, consisting of four ranges of columns, all of which are different, and most elaborately carved.

In one of that chain of islands which seem to connect

India with Ceylon, stands the celebrated temple of Rames-seram, exhibiting all the beauties of the Dravidian style in their greatest perfection. Like the structures of Madura, this temple (with the exception of a humble and ancient Vimâna) was built in the seventeenth century. Externally the temple is enclosed by a wall 868 feet by 672 feet and 20 feet high, with four great Gopuras on the four sides,—one of which alone has been finished. The glory of the temple, however, is in its corridors, extending to a total length of nearly 4000 feet. The breadth varies from 20 to 30 feet, and the height is 30 feet. "No engraving . . . can convey the impression produced by such a display of labour when extended to an uninterrupted length of 700 feet. None of our cathedrals are more than 500 feet, and even the nave of St. Peter's is only 600 feet from the door to the apse. Here the side corridors are 700 feet long, and open into transverse galleries as rich in detail as themselves. These, with the varied devices and modes of lighting, produce an effect that is not equalled certainly anywhere in India. . . . Here we have corridors extending to 4000 feet, carved on both sides, and in the hardest granite. It is the immensity of the labour here displayed that impresses us much more than its quality, and that, combined with a certain picturesqueness and mystery, produce an effect which is not surpassed by any other temple in India, and by very few elsewhere" (*Fergusson*, p. 358).

The classic town of Conjeveram or Kânchî possesses temples as picturesque and nearly as vast as any that are found elsewhere. In Great Conjeveram there is the Great Temple, with some large Gopuras and a hall of 1000 columns, fine Mantapas, and large tanks with flights of stairs.

Our readers will remember that the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagara was the last great Hindu kingdom in Southern India, and maintained its independence for over two centuries, from 1344 to 1565 A.D. Architecture flourished, together with learning, and the study of the

Vedas; and there is hardly a town in all India in which ruins exist in such profusion as in this last seat of Hindu learning and glory.

The temple of Vitopa has an elegant and tasteful porch, wholly in granite, and carved with a boldness and power nowhere surpassed in buildings of this class. Numerous other edifices and temples of great beauty and extent attest to the power and activity of the Vijayanagara kings.

The master works of these kings, however, are not in the town, but in a place called Tarputry, about 100 miles to the south-east of Vijayanagara. Two Gopuras belonging to a now deserted temple stand there, one of them quite finished, and the other not carried beyond the perpendicular part. "The whole of the perpendicular part is covered with the most elaborate sculpture, cut with exquisite sharpness and precision in a fine close-grained hornblende stone, and produces an effect richer, and on the whole, perhaps, in better taste than anywhere else in this style" (*Fergusson*, p. 375).

Turning now to the architecture of the Southern Jainas, we find that they generally adopted the Dravidian style, as the Northern Jainas adopted the Orissa style. On the Chandragiri hill there is a group of fifteen temples. Inside each temple is a court surrounded by cloisters, at the back of which rises the Vimâna over the cell containing the principal image of the Tirthankara.

Besides the temples, the Southern Jainas have in some places erected colossal statues such as are wholly unknown in the north. They are said to be statues of a Gomata Raja, and it is supposed that some vague recollections of Gautama Buddha as a prince or raja have given rise to the construction of these images. One of them at Sravana Belgula attracted the attention of the Duke of Wellington, then Sir A. Wellesley, when he commanded a division at the siege of Seringapatam. It is a statue 70 feet 3 inches in height, hewn, it

is supposed, out of a solid hill which formerly stood there. "Nothing grander or more imposing exists anywhere out of Egypt, and even there no known statue surpasses it in height" (*Fergusson*, p. 268).

DECCAN STYLE.

We have spoken of two distinct styles of Hindu architecture, one the Orissa or Northern Indian style, prevailing in the country north of the Vindhya mountains, and the other the Dravidian or Southern Indian style, prevailing in the country south of the Krishna river. There is a third style, however, which Dr. Fergusson calls the Chalukyan style, and which prevails between the Vindhya range and the Krishna river, *i.e.*, in the country now known as the Deccan. The style has not been thoroughly studied yet, as the Nizam's dominions are comparatively speaking yet unexplored; and it is probable, too, that few ancient Hindu monuments have there survived the uninterrupted reign of Musalmans during several centuries. The best examples of that style yet known are preserved in the province of Mysore, which, though south of the Krishna, developed the Chalukyan style.

The peculiar feature of this style is that the temples have a polygonical or star-shaped base; the walls rise perpendicular to some height, and then the roof is pyramidical, tapering to a point.

Our readers will remember that the Ballalas ruled supreme in Mysore and the Carnatic from about 1000 A.D. to 1310 A.D., and three remarkable groups of temples were erected by this great dynasty. The first one, at Somnathpur, was built by Vinâditya Ballala who ascended the throne in 1043. The height of this temple is only 30 feet, but it is characterised by a remarkable elegance of outline and elaboration of detail. The second, at Baillur, was erected by Vishnu Vardhana about 1114, and consists of a principal temple surrounded by four or five others,

and numerous subordinate buildings, enclosed by a high wall, with two fine Gopuras. The richness and variety of pattern displayed in the twenty-eight windows are remarkable; and the richly carved base on which they rest is still more so. The third and last group of temples of the Ballala kings is at Hullabid. A temple here, called Kaet Isvara, was probably erected by Vijaya, the fifth king of the dynasty. "From the basement to the summit it is covered with sculptures of the very best class of Indian art, and these so arranged as not materially to interfere with the outlines of the building, while they impart to it an amount of richness only to be found among specimens of Hindu art. If it were possible to illustrate this temple in anything like completeness, there is probably nothing in India which would convey a better idea of what its architects were capable of accomplishing" (*Fergusson*, p. 397).

The temple of Kaet Isvara is, however, surpassed in magnificence by its neighbour, the great double temple at Hullabid. Had this double temple been completed, it is one of the buildings on which, as Dr. Fergusson puts it, the advocate of Hindu architecture would desire to take his stand. Unfortunately the work was never completed, having been stopped by the Mahommedan conquest in 1310 A.D., after it had been in progress for eighty-six years.

"It is of course impossible to illustrate completely so complicated and so varied a design. . . . The building stands on a terrace ranging from 5 feet to 6 feet in height, and paved with large slabs. On this stands a frieze of elephants, following all the sinuosities of the plan, and extending to some 710 feet in length, and containing not less than 2000 elephants, most of them with the riders and trappings sculptured as only an Oriental can represent the wisest of brutes. Above these there is a frieze of "Shardulas," or conventional lions, the emblems of the Hoisala Bellalas who built the temple. Then comes a scroll of infinite beauty and variety of design; over these a frieze of horsemen and another scroll, over which is a bas-relief

of scenes from the Ramayana, representing the conquest of Ceylon and all the varied incidents of the epic. This,



KAET ISVARA TEMPLE.

like the other, is 700 feet long. . . . Then come celestial beasts and celestial birds, and all along the east front

a frieze of groups from human life, and then a cornice with a rail divided into panels, each containing two figures. Over these are windows of pierced slabs, like those of Baillur, though not so rich or varied. . . . In the centre, in place of the windows, is first a scroll, and then a frieze of gods and heavenly Apsaras, dancing girls, and other objects of Hindu mythology. This frieze, which is about 5 feet 6 inches in height, is continued all round the western front of the building, and extends to some 400 feet in length. Siva, with his consort Parvati seated on his knee, is repeated at least fourteen times. Vishnu in his nine Avatars, even oftener. Brahma occurs three or four times, and every god of the Hindu Pantheon finds his place. Some of these are carved with a minute elaboration of detail which can only be reproduced by photography, and may probably be considered as one of the most marvellous exhibitions of human labour to be found even in the patient East" (*Fergusson*, p. 401).

We have made this long extract from Dr. Fergusson's work to give our readers an idea of the sculptures and elaborate carving of which we have spoken so often in describing almost every temple and Vimâna, porch and Gopura. A Hindu temple is nothing if not profusely ornate and elaborately carved; and that wonderful and endless carving and sculpture work covers every religious edifice in India, from Orissa and Rajputana to Mysore and Ramesseram. We will now conclude this chapter with some thoughtful observations which the elaborate carving of the Hullabid temple suggests to our author, whom we have so often quoted in this chapter.

"If it were possible to illustrate the Hullabid temple to such an extent as to render its peculiarities familiar, there would be few things more interesting or more instructive than to institute a comparison between it and the Parthenon at Athens. Not that the two buildings are at all like one another; on the contrary, they form the two opposite poles, the alpha and omega of architectural design; but

they are the best examples of their class, and between these two extremes lies the whole range of the art.

"The Parthenon is the best example we know of pure refined intellectual power applied to the production of an architectural design. Every part and every effect is calculated with mathematical exactness, and executed with a mechanical precision that never was equalled. . . . The sculpture is exquisitely designed to aid the perfection of the masonry, severe and god-like, but with no condescension to the lower feelings of humanity.

"The Hullabid temple is the opposite of all this. It is regular, but with a studied variety of outline in plan and even greater variety in detail. All the pillars of the Parthenon are identical, while no two facets of the Indian temple are the same; every convolution of every scroll is different. No two canopies in the whole building are alike, and every part exhibits a joyous exuberance of fancy scorning every mechanical restraint. All that is wild in human faith or warm in human feeling is found portrayed on these walls; but of pure intellect there is little, less than there is of human feeling in the Parthenon. . . .

"For our purpose, the great value of the study of these Indian examples is that it widens so immensely our basis for architectural criticism. It is only by becoming familiar with forms so utterly dissimilar from those we have hitherto been conversant with, that we perceive how narrow is the purview that is content with one form or one passing fashion. By rising to this wider range, we shall perceive that architecture is as many-sided as human nature itself, and learn how few feelings and how few aspirations of the human heart and brain there are that cannot be expressed by its means" (*Fergusson*, p. 403).

These thoughtful and philosophical observations on architecture naturally suggest some reflections to the student of history. Why is it that the architecture of India displays what Dr. Fergusson calls a lack of "pure intellect"? Why is it, again, that the same architecture

displays such a joyous exuberance of fancy and "pure feeling"—such an uncontrollable desire to represent on religious edifices the teeming millions of living creatures, with all their humble feelings and hopes and fears, their every-day occupation, their wars and triumphs, their toil and their sorrows, and even their sins?

The first question is easily answered. There was no lack of "pure intellect" in the land of Kapila and Kâlidâsa, but there was a disinclination, unfortunately, among the upper classes to apply themselves to vocations requiring manual exertion. And when the caste-system was once fully formed, this disinclination to physical exertion became a part of the social rules for the upper castes. It was impossible that the thinking population, the Kshatriyas and the Brâhmans, should apply themselves to carving and sculpture, and intellect of the higher order was thus divorced for ever from these fine arts. The artisan classes possessed that wonderful skill in decorative art which characterises the Hindus in all branches of industry, and they acquired that facility in workmanship which the experience of centuries teaches. No labour was too gigantic for them to attempt; no design was too minute or elaborate for them to accomplish. But, nevertheless, to the very close of the Hindu period they remained artisans—generations of skilled workers, and nothing more. The wonderful edifices with which they have covered India, under the bidding of the priest or the king, are remarkable, more for the gigantic labour and the minute and endless elaboration which they display, than for any lofty intellectual conception, any design of a creative mind. And among the thousands of graceful, pleasing, and natural figures and faces of men and women, which simple observation of nature taught the artisans to copy in stone in every temple and porch, we shall in vain seek for that high order of intellectual conception which marks the marbles of Greece and Rome. A Phœdias and a Michael Angelo were impossible in India.

For a reply to the second inquiry, we must seek for deeper causes. Not only in the temples of Greece, but in the churches of mediæval and modern Europe, religious designs and subjects have been thought appropriate for religious edifices. Painted windows, representing scenes from the life of Christ and other holy subjects, beautify the churches of Protestant nations; and marble images of the Virgin and the Child, of saints and of holy persons, decorate and fill Catholic cathedrals. In India the countless temples of gods are sculptured, not only with the images of gods and goddesses, but with a representation of the whole universe, animate and inanimate; of men and women in their daily occupations, their wars, triumphs, and processions; of aërial and imaginary beings, Gandharvas and Apsaras, and dancing girls; of horses, snakes, birds, elephants, and lions; of trees and creepers of various kinds; of all that the sculptor could think of and his art could depict.

To the Hindu the problem suggests its own solution. The idea of religion in Europe is connected with the glory of God and the teachings of Christ, with sermons in churches and pious acts. To the Hindu, his whole life in all its minute acts is a part of his religion. Not only moral precepts, but the rules of social and domestic life, of eating and drinking and behaviour to fellow-men and fellow-creatures, are a part of his religion. It is his religion which teaches the warrior to fight, the learned man to prosecute his studies and contemplation, the artisan to ply his trade, and all men to regulate their conduct towards each other. The very conception of *Brahman* in the Upanishads, and in all later religious writings, is the all-embracing universe: all is an emanation from Him; all returns to Him. The very signification of the word *Dharma* in the ancient Dharma Sâstras is not religion in the modern sense of the word, but the totality of human duties and of human life in all its occupations, pursuits, and daily actions. Dharma regulates studies,

occupations, and trades. Dharma regulates eating and drinking and the enjoyments of life. Dharma lays down civil and criminal law and the rules of inheritance. Dharma rules men and the animal and vegetable kingdoms below, and saints and gods above. So comprehensive is this term, that it denotes even the qualities of inanimate objects; it is the Dharma of the fire to burn, of trees to grow, of water to seek the lowest level. And though the modern Hindu is far removed in ideas from his ancestors, yet even to this day the whole life of an orthodox and religious Hindu is controlled by rules and sanctions which he calls his Dharma, rules regulating every act and every word in political, social, and domestic life. The distinction between the sacred and the secular is foreign to the spirit of Hinduism. Every rule of conduct is a part of Dharma.

Such being the absorbing notion of religion among the Hindus, they endeavoured to represent this idea in their architecture and sculpture. Nothing was excluded from the sacred precincts of temples, not even the humblest occupation of the daily labourer, not even sorrows, sufferings, and sins. The universe has emanated from the Deity to whom the architects dedicated their temples, and, as far as their humble skill and untiring industry permitted, they sought to represent the universe on those temples. The proud and the lowly, the rational and the irrational, the animate and the inanimate, yea the whole world with its joys and sorrows, are comprehended in the notion of Hindu religion; and the Hindu sought to realise that all-embracing notion, and to depict the universe on the imperishable monuments of his industry and his faith!

CHAPTER X.

ASTRONOMY, ALGEBRA AND ARITHMETIC.

COLEBROOKE was the first European writer who thoroughly inquired into the subject of Hindu algebra, arithmetic, and astronomy; and no more careful or impartial writer has written since on the subject, though it has been repeatedly discussed by later scholars. We make no apology, therefore, in quoting some remarks which Colebrooke recorded over seventy years ago on Hindu algebra.

"The Hindus had certainly made distinguished progress in the science so early as the century immediately following that in which the Grecians taught the rudiments of it. The Hindus had the benefit of a good arithmetical notation; the Greeks the disadvantage of a bad one. Nearly allied as algebra is to arithmetic, the invention of the algebraic calculus was more easy and natural where arithmetic was best handled. No such marked identity of the Hindu and Diophantine systems is observed as to demonstrate communication. They are sufficiently distinct to justify the presumption that both might be invented independently of each other.

"If, however, it be insisted that a hint or suggestion, the seed of their knowledge, may have reached the Hindu mathematicians immediately from the Greeks of Alexandria or mediately through those of Bactria, it must, at the same time, be confessed that a slender germ grew and fructified rapidly, and soon attained an approved state of maturity in Indian soil." *

* *Algebra, &c., from the Sanscrit.* London, 1817, p. xxii.

Equally worthy of our consideration are the same author's remarks on Hindu astronomy. "The Hindus had undoubtedly made some progress at an early period in the astronomy cultivated by them for the regulation of time. Their calendar, both civil and religious, was governed chiefly, not exclusively, by the moon and sun; and the motions of these luminaries were carefully observed by them: and with such success, that their determination of the moon's synodical revolution, which was what they were principally concerned with, is a much more correct one than the Greeks ever achieved. They had a division of the ecliptic into twenty-seven or twenty-eight parts,* suggested evidently by the moon's period in days; and seemingly their own: it was certainly borrowed by the Arabians. Being led to the observation of the fixed stars, they obtained a knowledge of the position of the most remarkable; and noticed for religious purposes, and from superstitious notions, the heliacal rising with other phenomena of a few. The adoration of the sun, of the planets, and of the stars, in common with the worship of the elements, had a principal place in their religious observances enjoined by the *Vedas;* and they were led constantly by piety to watch the heavenly bodies. They were particularly conversant with the most splendid of the primary planets, the period of Jupiter being introduced by them, in conjunction with those of the sun and moon, into the regulation of their calendar, sacred and civil, in the form of the celebrated cycle of sixty years."†

While Hindu astronomy is as old as the Vedas, there can be little doubt that after the Christian Era the science received much development from Greek sources. We have seen in the last Book that the *Siddhântas* of the Buddhist Age were greatly indebted to Greek astronomy.

* This Lunar Zodiac was fixed, as we have seen before, in the Epic Period, about 1200 B.C.

† *Hindu Algebra, &c.*, p. xxii. *et seq.*

The Solar Zodiac, for instance, adopted by the Hindus, was undoubtedly of Greek origin. This Hindu "division of the zodiac into twelve signs, represented by the same figures of animals, and named by words of the same import with the zodiacal signs of the Greeks," leaves little doubt that the Hindus after the Christian Era "received hints from the astronomical schools of the Greeks." *

Âryabhatta is the first Hindu writer on algebra and astronomy in the Puranic Age. He was born, as he tells us himself, in A.D. 476. He wrote the Âryabhattîya, consisting of the Gîtikâpâda, the Ganitapâda, the Kâlakriyâpâda, and the Golapâda.

The work has now been edited by Dr. Kern, and in this work the astronomer boldly maintains the theory of the revolution of the earth on its own axis, and the true cause of solar and lunar eclipses. "As a person in a vessel, while moving forward," says Âryabhatta, "sees an immovable object moving backward, in the same manner do the stars, though immovable, seem to move daily." Âryabhatta's explanation of the eclipses seems to have been generally known to his contemporaries, for we find Kâlidâsa in his Raghuvansa (XIV, 40) weaving the astronomical discovery into one of his apt similes, and stating "what in reality is only the shadow of the earth is regarded by the people as an impurity of the pure moon." In his Golapâda, Âryabhatta gives us the names of the twelve divisions of the Solar Zodiac. Âryabhatta's calculation of the earth's circumference (3300 Yojanas of four Krosas each) is not wide of the mark.

Âryabhatta was born in Pâtaliputra, the ancient capital of Asoka the Great, and wrote early in the sixth century. The revival of learning in that century was not confined to Ujjayinî, although that city carried away the palm under the auspices of the illustrious Vikramâditya.

* *Hindu Algebra, &c.*, p. xxiv.

Âryabhatta's successor, Varâhamihira, was a true born son of Avanti. He was born in Avanti, and was the son of Âditya Dâsa, himself an astronomer. The Ujjayinî list compiled by Dr. Hunter, as well as Alberuni, give A.D. 505 as Varâhamihira's date, and it is probable that this was the date of his birth. We have already stated before that he was one of the "nine gems" of Vikrama's court, and it has been ascertained by Dr. Bhao Daji that the astronomer died in 587 A.D.

He compiled in his famous Panchasiddhântikâ five older Siddhântas, viz., Paulisa, Romaka, Vasishtha, Saura, and Paitâmaha. We have spoken of these Siddhântas in the last Book.

Varâhamihira is also the author of Brihat Sanhitâ, which has been edited by Dr. Kern. It is a work consisting of no less than 106 chapters, dealing with various subjects. The first twenty chapters relate to the sun, moon, earth, and planets; chapters 21 to 39 deal with rain, winds, earthquakes, meteors, rainbow, dust-storms, thunderbolts, &c.; chapters 40 to 42 treat of plants and vegetables, and commodities which are available in different seasons; chapters 43 to 60 speak of various miscellaneous matters, including portents, house-building, gardening, temples, images, &c.; chapters 61 to 78 deal with various animals, and with men and women, &c.; chapters 79 to 85 treat of precious stones, furniture, &c.; chapters 86 to 96 treat of various omens; and chapters 97 to 106, of various matters, including marriages, the divisions of the zodiac, &c.

The above enumeration of contents carries no adequate idea of the encyclopædic nature of this great work. The amount of general information which it contains, apart from its merit as an astronomical work, is of the utmost value to the historian. Thus, chapter 14 is a complete geography of India of the sixth century, and mentions the names of numerous provinces and towns. Chapters 41 and 42 contain an enumeration of a vast number of com-

modities, vegetable and manufactured, which is of the utmost value for a detailed examination of the civilisation of the age. So chapters 61 to 67 speak of various animals, and chapters 79 to 85 of various articles, from a diamond to a toothbrush! Chapter 58 is of special interest to us, because it lays down rules for the construction of various images, viz., Râma, Bali, Vishnu with 8 or 4 or 2 hands, Baladeva, a goddess between Krishna and Baladeva, Sâmba, Brahmâ with four faces, Indra, Siva and his consort, Buddha, the god of the Arhats (Buddhist saints), the Sun, the Linga, Yama, Varuna, Kuvera, and Ganesa with his elephant head. And in chapter 60 we are told that Bhâgavatas worship Vishnu, the Magas worship the Sun, and the twice-born, smeared with ashes, worship Siva; the Mâtris are worshipped by those who know them, and Brâhmans worship Brahmâ. The Sâkyas and the naked Jainas worship the all-benevolent and calm-souled god (Buddha). "Each sect should worship, according to its peculiar rules, the deity whom it worships." These passages attest the toleration of the sixth century A.D.; a Hindu after the time of Sankarâchârya would not thus enumerate the "all-benevolent" and "calm-souled" Buddha in the list of deities.

In the following century Brahmagupta wrote (in 628 A.D.) his Brahma Sphuta Siddhânta. The work comprises twenty-one chapters. The first ten contain an astronomical system, describing the true places of the planets, the calculation of lunar and solar eclipses, the position of the moon's cusps, the conjunctions of planets and stars, &c. The next ten chapters are supplementary; and the last chapter explains the astronomical system in a treatise on spherics. The twelfth and eighteenth chapters have been translated by Colebrooke.

After Brahmagupta came the long period of the dark age and political convulsions. When these ended in the establishment of Rajput power in India, another great mathematician arose. The renowned Bhâskarâchârya was

born, as he tells us, in 1114 A.D., and completed his great work known as the Siddhânta Siromani in 1150 A.D. The preliminary portions of this work are the Vîjaganita (algebra) and the Lîlâvatî (arithmetic), and have been translated by Colebrooke; and the Golâdhyâya portion on spherical trigonometry has been translated by Wilkinson and revised by the renowned mathematician, Pundit Bapudeva Sâstri.

There are solutions of remarkable problems in Bhâskarâchârya which were not achieved in Europe till the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.* The science of algebra indeed received a remarkable degree of development in India; the application of algebra to astronomical investigations and to geometrical demonstrations is a peculiar invention of the Hindus; and their manner of conducting it has received the admiration of modern European mathematicians.

While such was the progress made in India in astronomy, algebra, and arithmetic, the science of geometry was lost! The Hindus had discovered the first elementary laws of geometry in the eighth century before Christ, and imparted it to the Greeks; but as the construction of altars according to geometrical rules fell into disuse, geometry was neglected, and geometrical problems were solved by algebra.

Arabian writers translated Hindu works on algebra in the eighth century A.D., and Leonardo of Pisa first introduced the science into modern Europe. In trigonometry,

* A striking history has been told of the problem, to find x so that ax^2+b shall be a square number. Fremat made some progress towards solving this ancient problem, and sent it as a defiance to the English algebraists in the seventeenth century. Euler finally solved it, and arrived exactly at the point attained by Bhâskara in 1150! A particular solution of another problem given by Bhâskara is exactly the same as was discovered in Europe by Lord Brounker in 1657; and the general solution of the same problem given by Brahmagupta in the seventh century A.D. was unsuccessfully attempted by Euler, and was only accomplished by De la Grange in 1767 A.D. The favourite process of the Hindus known as the *Kuttaka* was not known in Europe till published by Bachet de Mezeriac in 1624 A.D.

too, the Hindus seem to have been the earliest teachers in the world; and in arithmetic they invented that system of decimal notation which the Arabians borrowed from them and taught in Europe, and which is now the property of the human race.

CHAPTER XI.

MEDICINE.

THE Hindu medical science unfortunately received less attention from the earlier antiquarians than the other Indian sciences, and the facts collected even up to the present date are not nearly exhaustive. As early as 1823, Professor H. H. Wilson published in the *Oriental Magazine* a brief notice of Hindu medicines and medical works. The indefatigable traveller and devoted scholar Csoma de Koros gave a sketch of Hindu medical opinions as translated into the Thibetan language in the Journal of the Asiatic Society for January 1835. Heyne and Ainslie also collected much information on the subject of Hindu medicines. And in 1837, Dr. Royle, of the King's College, London, combined all the information available from the above works, with many original researches of his own, in his celebrated essay on the antiquity of Hindu medicine. Our distinguished countryman, Madhusudan Gupta, who first broke through modern prejudices against dissection, and was Lecturer of Anatomy to the Medical College of Calcutta, edited the ancient work on Hindu surgery known as Susruta, and proved that the ancients had no silly prejudices against the pursuit of science in a scientific way. Dr. Wise, late of the Bengal Medical Service, published in 1845 a commentary on the ancient Hindu system of medicine; and later on he treated the subject ably and fully in his Review of the History of Medicine published in London in 1867. The subject has received more attention from

our countrymen since this date, and the patriotic physician, Abinas Chandra Kaviratna, is now editing valuable editions of Charaka and Susruta with commentaries.

In Europe the antiquity of Hindu medicine is not yet generally known and recognised, and the habit of tracing the origin of all Aryan culture to the Greeks still impedes an impartial inquiry. As Dr. Wise justly remarks, "Facts regarding the ancient history of medicine have been sought for only in the classical authors of Greece and Rome, and have been arranged to suit a traditional theory which repudiated all systems which did not proceed from a Grecian source. We are familiar from our youth with classical history, and love to recall events illustrated by the torch of genius and depicted on our memories; and it requires a thorough examination of a subject, a careful weighing of new evidence, and a degree of ingenuousness not always to be found, to alter early impressions. Still candour and truth require us to examine the value of new facts in history as they are discovered, so as to arrive at just conclusions." *

The Greeks themselves did not lay claim to the honour (which is now often claimed for them by modern writers) of originating ancient culture generally, or the science of medicine in particular. Nearchus (*apud* Arrian) informs us that "the Grecian physicians found no remedy against the bite of snakes, but the Indians cured those who happened to incur that misfortune." Arrian himself tells us that the Greeks "when indisposed applied to their sophists (Brâhmans), who, by wonderful, and even more than human means, cured whatever would admit of cure." Dioscorides, who lived in the first century A.D., is the most copious author on the Materia Medica of the ancients, and Dr. Royle has in an exhaustive inquiry shown how much of his Materia Medica was taken from the more ancient Materia Medica of the Hindus.† The same remark

* *Review of the History of Medicine, Introduction.*

† *Antiquity of Hindu Medicine*, pp. 82 to 104.

holds good with regard to Theophrasus, who lived in the third century B.C., while even the physician Ctesias, who lived in the fifth century B.C., wrote an account of India which, Dr. H. H. Wilson has shown,* contains notices of the natural products of India. But the chain of evidence is complete when Hippocrates, called the "Father of Medicine," because he first cultivated the subject as a science in Europe, is shown to have borrowed his Materia Medica from the Hindus. We refer our readers for evidence to Dr. Royle's excellent essay. "It is to the Hindus," says Dr. Wise, "we owe the first system of medicine."

Unfortunately, of the earliest system of Hindu medicine, which was cultivated from the time of the Kurus and the Panchâlas to the age when all Hindu learning received a scientific treatment (B.C. 1400 to 400), very little has been left to us. Ancient medical science is generally spoken of in later treatises as the *Âyurveda.* The word probably never meant any particular treatise or work, but was a collective name for ancient medical science, as the *Dhanurveda* is a collective name for the ancient science of archery and arms. The ancient Âyurveda or medical science is said to have been divided into the following sections or branches, which we take from Dr. Wilson's analysis:—

(1.) *Salya,* the art of extracting extraneous substances, like arrows, wood, earth, &c., with the treatment of the inflammation and suppuration thereby induced; and by analogy, the cure of all phlegmonoid tumours and abscesses.

(2.) *Salakya,* the treatment of external organic affections, or diseases of the eyes, ears, nose, &c. The word is derived from *Salaka,* a thin sharp instrument, which must have been in use from ancient times.

(3.) *Kâyâ Chikitsâ,* the treatment of the body answer-

* In a paper read to the Ashmolean Society of Oxford.

ing to the modern science of medicine, while the two preceding sections constitute surgery.

(4.) *Bhûta vidyâ*, or the restoration of the faculties from a disorganised state supposed to be induced by demoniacal possession.

(5.) *Kumâra bhritya, i.e.*, the care of infancy, comprehending the management of infants and the treatment of disorders in mothers and nurses.

(6.) *Aagda*, the administration of antidotes.

(7.) *Rasâyana* or chemistry.

(8.) *Bajikarana*, professing to promote the increase of the human race.

Medical science, like all other sciences, made considerable progress in course of time, and exhaustive and scientific works were written in the Buddhist Age. But nevertheless, with that loyalty to the past which has ever characterised Hindu writers, the authors of these later works alluded reverently to the earlier science under the collective name of Âyurveda, the gift of the gods, and professed only to explain that ancient knowledge and wisdom to the less favoured men of later ages. Among these later and more scientific works, those of Charaka and Susruta are the best known, and their works are now the most ancient works extant. There are reasons to believe that these eminent authors lived in the Buddhist Age, but that their works were recast in the Puranic Age, when there was a general revival of Hindu learning and science. The fame of their works travelled into foreign countries, and the Arabs were acquainted with the translations of the works at the time of Haroun-al-Rashid in the eighth century. One of the earliest of the Arab authors, Serapion, mentions Charaka by name as *Xarch.* Another Arab writer, Avicenna, quotes him as *Scirak;* while Rhazes, who was prior to Avicenna, calls him *Scarac.** It was thus that Hindu medical works, compiled as early as the Buddhist Age, were

* Royle, p. 37.

first published to the world by the Arabs in the Puranic Age.

Charaka's work is divided into eight books, which are enumerated below.

(1.) *Sûtra Sthâna*, explaining the origin of medicine, the duty of the physician, the use of medicine, the cure of disease, materia medica, diet, &c.

(2.) *Nidâna Sthâna*, containing a description of diseases, as fever, discharges of blood, tumours, diabetes, leprosy, consumption, mania and epilepsy.

(3.) *Vimâna Sthâna*, treating of epidemics, the nature of food, the symptoms and diagnosis of disease, the use of medicines, and the peculiarities of the fluids of the body.

(4.) *Sarîra Sthâna*, treating of the nature of the soul, conception, the varieties of species, the qualities of elements, a description of the body and the connection of the body and soul.

(5.) *Indriya Sthâna*, describing the organs of sense and their diseases, the colour of the body, defects of speech, diseases of the body and of organs, loss of strength and death.

(6.) *Chikitsâ Sthâna*, considering the treatment of disease and the means of improving the health and enjoying long life. It also treats of fever, dropsy, swelling, piles, diarrhœa, jaundice, asthma, cough, dysentery, vomiting, erysipelas, thirst, and the effects of poisons. It speaks of remedying the effects of drinking, of inflammation, diseases of vital parts, abscesses, rheumatism and paralysis.

(7.) *Kalpa Sthâna*, treating of emetics and purgatives, and of antidotes and medical charms.

(8.) *Siddhi Sthâna*, treating of evacuating medicines, of injections for the urethra, vagina, and rectum, of abscesses, of the use of clysters, of the vital parts, &c.

The whole work is in the form of instruction imparted by the Rishi Âtreya to Agnivâsa. We are told in the introduction that Brahmâ first imparted the Âyurveda to

Prajâpati, that Prajâpati imparted it to the two Asvins, and the Asvins imparted it to Indra. Bhâradvâja learnt it from Indra, and imparted it to six Rishis, of whom Agnivâsa was one.

Susruta is probably a later work than Charaka, and a similar story is told that Indra imparted the knowledge to Dhanvantari, the medical practitioner of the gods, and Dhanvantari imparted it to eight Rishis, among whom Susruta was chosen to record the instructions correctly.

The divisions of Susruta's work are very similar to those of Charaka. Charaka, however, treats mainly of medicines, while Susruta treats mainly of surgery in his six divisions, which are enumerated below.

(1.) *Sûtra Sthâna* treats of medicines, of the elements of the body and various forms of disease, of the selection of surgical instruments and medicines, and of the practice to be followed after surgical operations. Then follows the description of the humours and the surgical diseases, the removal of extraneous substances, and the treatment of wounds and ulcers. Various other matters are touched upon.

(2.) *Nidâna Sthâna* treats of the symptoms and diagnoses of diseases. The causes of rheumatism, piles, stone, fistula in ano, leprosy, diabetes, and ascites are spoken of. The symptoms of unnatural presentations in midwifery, internal abscesses, erysipelas, scrofula, hydrocele, and diseases of the organs of generation and of the mouth are considered.

(3.) *Sârâra Sthâna,* or anatomy, treats of the structure of the body. The soul and the elementary parts of the body, puberty, conception, and growth of the body are considered. Bleeding and the treatment of pregnancy and of infants are also considered.

(4.) *Chikitsâ Sthâna* describes the symptoms and treatment of diseases, wounds, ulcers, inflammations, fractures, rheumatism, piles, stone, fistula in ano, leprosy, diabetes,

and dropsy. The manner of extracting the child from the uterus in unusual positions and other matters are described. The use of clysters, of errhines, and of the smoke of medicinal substances is also described.

(5.) *Kalpa Sthâna* speaks of antidotes. The means of preparing and preserving food and drink, and of distinguishing poisoned food are explained, and the different mineral, vegetable, and animal poisons and their antidotes are explained.

(6.) *Uttara Sthâna*, or supplemental section, treats of various local diseases, like those of the eye, ear, nose, and head. The treatment of various other diseases, like fever, dysentery, consumption, tumours, diseases of the heart, jaundice, discharges of blood, fainting, intoxication, cough, hiccough, asthma, hoarseness of voice, worms, stertorous vomiting, cholera, dyspepsia, dysuria, madness, demoniacal possession, epilepsy and apoplexy, are described.

The above brief enumeration of the contents of Charaka and Susruta will indicate the progress of the Hindu medical science and the nature of the diseases which engaged the attention of Hindu physicians in ancient days. Many of the ancient theories are of course now shown to be fanciful, and many of the views then held are now shown to be mistaken. But nevertheless the exhaustive treatment of diseases in medical works compiled two thousand years ago shows the progress of the science in Ancient India; and the medicines and preparations prescribed in these works are equally numerous and varied. It is not our intention to give anything like a complete account of the Hindu system of medicine and treatment of diseases; we will only here mention a few of the medicinal preparations and surgical instruments which were known to the ancient Hindus.

The Hindus were early familiar with *Rasâyana*, *i.e.*, chemistry, and with the preparation of various chemical compounds. Nor is this surprising, as the materials for preparing many chemical products have abounded in

India. Rock-salt was found in Western India; borax was obtained from Thibet; saltpetre and sulphate of soda were easily made; alum was made in Cutch; and sal ammonia was familiar to the Hindus; with lime, charcoal, and sulphur they were acquainted from time immemorial.

The alkalies and acids were early known to the Hindus, and were borrowed from them by the Arabians. The medicinal use of metals was also largely known. We have notices of antimony and of arsenic, of medicines prepared with quicksilver, arsenic, and nine other metals. The Hindus were acquainted with the oxides of copper, iron, lead, tin, zinc, and lead; with the sulphurets of iron, copper, antimony, mercury, and arsenic; with the sulphates of copper, zinc, and iron; with the diacetate of copper and the carbonates of lead and iron. "Though the ancient Greeks and Romans used many metallic substances as external applications, it is generally supposed that the Arabs were the first to prescribe them internally. . . . But in the works of Charak and Susruta, to which, as has been proved, the earliest of the Arabs had access, we find numerous metallic substances directed to be given internally." *

From positive directions respecting the formation of several substances, it is clear that the ancient Hindus were familiar with several chemical processes, as solution, evaporation, calcination, sublimation, and distillation.

With regard to drugs and plants, we find that Susruta arranges them under the following heads:—tuberous and bulbous roots; roots; bark of roots; bark of large trees; trees possessing a peculiar smell; leaves; flowers; fruits; seeds; acrid and astringent vegetables; milky plants; gums and resins. Susruta probably contains the earliest notice respecting botanical geography, mentioning the sites and climates where the plants grow. He also prescribes the weights and measures to be used,

* Dr. Royle's Essay, p. 45.

and gives directions for expressing juice from fresh vegetables, making powder of well-dried plants, and preparing infusions and decoctions of various kinds. The vegetable resources of India are practically unlimited, and it is needless to add that Hindu physicians were acquainted with a vast variety of vegetable medicines. Most of them are assuaging and depuratory medicines, suited to the climate of the country and the unexcitable constitution of the nation. For sudden and severe cases there were drastic and mild purgatives, emetics, diaphoretics, and baths; while acrid poisons were used with arsenic and mercurial preparations, as well as stimulants, sedatives, and narcotics.

Turning now to the subject of surgery, it will no doubt excite surprise (says Royle) "to find among the operations of those ancient surgeons those of lithotomy and the extraction of the fœtus ex utero; and that no less than 127 surgical instruments are described in their works." Surgery was divided into *Chhedana*, scission; *Bhedana*, excision; *Lekhana*, scarification and inoculation; *Vyâdhana*, puncturing; *Eshyam*, probing; *Aharya*, extraction of solid bodies; *Visravana*, extraction of fluids; and *Sevana*, sewing. These various operations were performed by a large variety of surgical instruments, which Dr. Wilson classifies under the following heads:—*Yantras*, implements; *Sastras*, instruments; *Kshâra*, alkaline solutions or caustics; *Agni*, actual cautery; *Salaka*, pins; *Sringa* horns; *Alabu*, gourds used for cupping; and *Jalauka*, or leeches. Besides these, we have thread, leaves, bandages, pledgets, heated metallic plates for erubescents, and a variety of astringent or emolient applications.

We are told that the instruments should be of metal, always bright, handsome, polished, and sharp, sufficiently so "to divide a hair longitudinally." And the young practitioner is recommended to acquire proficiency in the use of such instruments by making incisions, not only on

vegetable substances, but also on the fresh hides of animals and on the vessels of dead animals.

It will be of some interest to Hindu readers to know, when foreign scientific skill and knowledge are required in every district in India for sanitary and medical work, that twenty-two centuries ago Alexander the Great kept Hindu physicians in his camp for the treatment of diseases which Greek physicians could not heal, and that eleven centuries ago Haroun-al-Rashid of Bagdad retained two Hindu physicians, known in Arabian records as Manka and Saleh, as his own physicians.

CHAPTER XII.

DRAMA.

MORE remarkable than the progress made in science in this period is the wonderful development which poetry and the drama received in this the Augustan Era of Sanscrit Literature. Kâlidâsa and Bhavabhûti stand higher in the estimation of the Hindus and of the world than Âryabhatta and Charaka.

It is neither possible nor desirable to attempt within our limits to write a history of later Sanscrit literature. All that we shall attempt to do will be to indicate the names of the most illustrious writers, and describe as briefly as possible their most remarkable works. This will give our readers a bird's-eye view of the literary character of the epoch; and this is all that we can venture to attempt within our limits. We will speak of dramatic literature in this chapter, and of poetry and fiction in the following chapters.

The brilliant period of which we are speaking opens with the illustrious Kâlidâsa, and that gifted son of the Muses, although the author of several works of great excellence, is known to the civilised world chiefly as the author of *Sakuntalâ*. He who has read this drama in Sanscrit need not necessarily be a Hindu to hold the opinion that no sweeter or lovelier creation has emanated from the human fancy than the gentle and tender-souled forest maiden, Sakuntalâ.

King Dushyanta goes on a hunting expedition, and arrives at the hermitage of Kanva. Walking in a humble

attire among the groves, he espies three damsels engaged in watering plants; needless to say that these maidens are Sakuntalâ, daughter of a nymph by a human parent, and her two companions. Sakuntalâ had been brought up by the sage Kanva from her infancy, and had attained the bloom of her youthful loveliness in these woodland retreats among her rustic companions, her plants, and her pet animals. Dushyanta, accustomed to the artificial grace of court beauties, is ravished at the sight of this simple child of nature, dressed in bark, which almost heightens her charms, like a veil of leaves enfolding a radiant flower. He finds a suitable occasion to appear before the maiden and her companions; some words are interchanged, and the gentle Sakuntalâ feels an emotion unknown to her simple life before.

Love tells on her gentle frame, and when he comes to meet her again, "she resembles a Mâdhavî creeper whose leaves are dried by a sultry gale; yet even thus transformed she is lovely and charms my soul." The lovers meet, and a marriage ceremony, the Gândharva rite, seals their union. Dushyanta then departs, leaving a signet-ring with his bride, and promising to convey her to his capital almost immediately after.

Then begins the interest of the drama. Sakuntalâ, when deeply musing on her absent lord, forgets to pay proper homage to an irritable sage who had come to the hermitage as a guest. The angry sage resents the neglect, and utters a curse that he of whom she thinks so abstractedly will forget her. Pacified by the entreaties of her companions, the sage modifies his sentence, and says that he will call her back to mind on her showing the signet-ring. Dushyanta accordingly forgets his rustic love, and poor Sakuntalâ, then gone with child, pines and droops in her lonely retreat.

Her foster-father Kanva comes to know all, and arranges to send the girl to her lord. Touching as this drama is throughout, there is no part of it so truly tender and touch-

ing as Sakuntalâ's parting with her companions and pets in the peaceful hermitage where she had lived so long. The heart of Kanva himself is big with grief and his eyes overflow with tears. The invisible wood-nymphs bid her a sad adieu; the two gentle companions of Sakuntalâ can scarcely tear themselves from their loved and departing friend. Sakuntalâ herself is almost overpowered as she takes her farewell from all she had so long loved and cherished so well.

"*Sak.* Father! when yon female antelope, who now moves slowly from the weight of the young ones with which she is pregnant, shall be delivered of them, send me, I beg, a kind message with tidings of her safety—Do not forget.

"*Kanva.* My beloved, I will not forget it.

"*Sak.* (advancing and then stopping). Ah! what is it that clings to the skirts of my robe and detains me? (She turns round and looks.)

"*Kanva.* It is thy adopted child, the little fawn whose mouth, when the sharp point of the kusa grass has wounded it, has been so often smeared by thy hand with the healing oil of Ingudî; who has been so often fed by thee with a handful of Syamaka grains, and now will not leave the footsteps of his protectress.

"*Sak.* Why dost thou weep, tender fawn, for me, who must leave our common dwelling-place? As thou wast reared by me when thou hadst lost thy mother, who died soon after thy birth, so will my foster-father attend thee, when we are separated, with anxious care—Return, poor thing, return. We must part. (She bursts into tears.)"—SIR WILLIAM JONES.

The plot thickens. Sakuntalâ's lord has forgotten her, and the ring which would alone have called her back to his mind is lost in the way. Dushyanta receives Sakuntalâ and her party politely, but declines to receive as a bride a woman whom he cannot recognise and who is with child. Poor Sakuntalâ almost sinks under this calamity, for she knows not its cause. She did not hear the curse which was uttered by the sage, nor the partial modification of it to which he consented on the entreaty of her companions. She tries in vain to bring to Dush-

yanta's recollection those too-well remembered events which marked their brief days in the hermitage, and at last breaks out in mortification and grief. Her companions leave her in the palace, and separate quarters are allowed to her, but she is saved further humiliation by a miracle. A celestial nymph descends in the form of light, and carries her away from the earth, where her fate had been sad and bitter indeed.

An accident now brings the past to the king's recollection. A fisherman caught a fish which had swallowed the ring, which Sakuntalâ had dropped in a stream; and on sight of that gem the past comes thronging into the king's recollection! The love he bore for Sakuntalâ flames forth tenfold, and the cruel injustice he had done to that gentle and loving and confiding soul maddens him with pain. He relinquishes his royal duties, forgets food and sleep, and loses himself in bitter agony.

He is roused from his stupor by the god Indra's charioteer, who on behalf of Indra asks the king's succour against Dânavas. The king mounts the celestial car and conquers, and is then taken to the celestial hermitage of Kasyapa, father of the gods, residing there in holy retirement with his consort Aditi.

While waiting there the king sees a powerful little boy playing with a lion's whelp.

> "Ah! (he thinks) what means it that my heart inclines to this boy as if he were my own son? (meditating). Alas! I have no son, and this reflection makes me once more soft-hearted."—JONES.

The reader no doubt perceives that the boy *was* the king's son. Sakuntalâ had been carried away by the pitying gods and kept here until the king's clouded recollection was clear again. And when Sakuntalâ appears, Dushyanta craves her forgiveness on his knees and is forgiven by the too-loving Sakuntalâ. The reconciled pair are then taken with the boy to the divine pair

Kasyapa and Aditi, and the play closes with the blessings of those holy personages.

Two other dramatic works of Kâlidâsa are left to us. *Vikramorvasî* describes the loves of the hero Purûravas and the celestial nymph Urvasî. We know that the story is as old as the Rig Veda, and is in its first conception a myth of the Sun (Purûravas = bright-rayed) pursuing the Dawn (Urvasî = wide-expanding). But the origin of the story has long since been lost to the Hindus, and Purûravas of Kâlidâsa and the Purânas is a mortal king who rescued a celestial nymph named Urvasî from demons, and felt for her a tender love which was reciprocated. So smitten was the gentle nymph with the charms of the mortal, that when she appeared in the court of Indra to enact a play, she forgot her part and betrayed the secret of her heart by uttering the name of the mortal she loved.

Urvasî played Lakshmî. Menakâ was Varunî. The latter says:—

> "Lakshmî, the mighty powers that rule the spheres
> Are all assembled; at their head appears
> The blooming Kesava; confess, to whom
> Inclines your heart?"—H. H. WILSON.

Her reply should have been—"To Purushottama;" but, instead of that, "To Purûravas" escaped her lips.

For this error the gentle nymph was punished; but Indra, with considerate care, modified the punishment into a blessing, and directed the nymph to go and live with her beloved mortal until he beheld an offspring born by her.

Purûravas vainly tried to conceal his new love from his own queen, and vainly expressed a penitence he did not feel by falling at her feet. The queen somewhat unceremoniously replied—

> "You make, my lord, an awkward penitent; I cannot trust you."—WILSON.

And she left the king to the very cruel but very wise reflection—

"I might have spared myself the pains. A woman is clear-sighted, and mere words touch not her heart. Passion must give them credit. The lapidary, master of his craft, with cold indifference eyes the spurious gem."—WILSON.

But the queen soon perceived that her husband's love was beyond control, and her resentment was unavailing. With a Hindu wife's self-abnegation, she contrived, under the guise of a religious performance, to make amends for her former behaviour, and even to permit her lord to relinquish himself to his new attachment. Clad in white, with only flowers for her ornaments, she came slowly to worship her lord and king, who almost felt a return of his previous fondness for her on seeing her in this attire.

"In truth she pleases me. Thus chastely robed in modest white, her clustering tresses decked with sacred flowers alone, her haughty mien exchanged for pure devotion; thus arrayed she moves with heightened charms."—WILSON.

But she knew her charms were unavailing; she presented oblations to the king, fell at his feet, and then called the moon and the Rohini star to

"Hear and attest the sacred promise that I make my husband. Whatever nymph attract my lord's regard, and share with him the mutual bond of love, I henceforth treat with kindness and complacency."—WILSON.

Even Urvasî's companion was struck with this magnanimous self-abnegation, and remarked—

"She is a lady of an exalted spirit, a wife of duty most exemplary."—WILSON.

The loves of the king and the nymph, and their temporary separation through a supernatural incident, are then described with all the power of Kâlidâsa's pen.

He pined during the separation, wandered in the forest, and addressed birds and beasts and inanimate objects.

> "I have sued to the starry-plumed bird,
> And the *koil* of love-breathing song;
> To the lord of the elephant herd,
> And the bee as he murmured along;
> To the swan, and the loud waterfall,
> To the *chakwa*, the rock and the roe:
> In my search have I sued to them all,
> But none of them lightened my woe."
> —WILSON.

He recovered her after his wanderings, but was again likely to lose her. For the boy whom Urvasî had borne to her lord, but had concealed so long, was seen by chance by his father; and according to Indra's orders the nymph must return to the skies as soon as her lover saw the child she bore him. But Indra again modified his commands, and Nârada descended from the skies to carry Indra's mandate to Purûravas—

> "And Urvasî shall be through life united
> With thee in holy bonds."—WILSON.

The third and last play, said to be Kâlidâsa's, is *Mâlavikâgnimitra*, or the loves of Mâlavikâ and Agnimitra. But we greatly doubt if this play is from Kâlidâsa's pen. Agnimitra and his father Pushpamitra are historical characters; the latter was the general of the last king of the Maurya dynasty, and he put that king to death and founded the Sunga dynasty of the Magadha kings.

Malâvikâ is a beautiful attendant of the queen Dhârinî, and learns dancing and music. The queen jealously guards her from the king Agnimitra's eyes, but has unwisely caused her picture to be painted in the Chitrasâlâ or picture gallery, and a view of this picture inspires the king with a desire to see the original. Mâlavikâ appears before the king to display her skill

in singing and dance, and the king contracts a passion for her.

The jealous queen locks up the amorous and lovely girl, but Mâlavikâ is taken out by a contrivance, and has an interview with the king.

News is received that the king's son has gained a victory over the Yavanas on the banks of the Indus, and the queen is so pleased that she distributes gifts to all, and feeling perhaps that it is useless to try to stem the king's love, bestows on him the lovely Mâlavikâ. Thus the piece ends happily; but neither in its plot nor in its poetry is it on a level with *Sakuntalâ*, or even with *Vikramorvasî.*

Kâlidâsa lived in the sixth century, and graced the court of Vikramâditya. A century after his time, an Emperor of India, and a worthy successor of Vikramâditya both in prowess and in letters, tried to emulate the renowned Kâlidâsa. Sîlâditya II., called also Sri Harsadeva, reigned from 610 to 650, and received the Chinese traveller Houen Tsang. He was not only the Emperor of all Northern India, but was himself a man of letters. He is reputed to be the author of *Ratnâvalî*, though it is probable the celebrated novelist of his court, Bânabhatta, composed that play. Kâlidâsa's fame had spread all over India by that time, and humbler poets unconsciously designed their works on the plots of the great master. This is specially apparent in the Ratnâvalî, in which plagiarisms from Kâlidâsa's plays are obvious.

The play opens with an account of the spring festival, when the god of Love was worshipped, and coloured water was showered by merry men and mirthful maids on each other. The custom of throwing red powder and coloured water still obtains all over India, but Krishna has now appropriated to himself the worship which in ancient times was offered to the god of Love.

The queen goes to the garden to offer worship to the god of Love and requests the presence of the king. A

lovely attendant of the queen, Sâgarikâ by name, whom the queen had jealously guarded from the king's eyes, comes also to the garden, and she looks on the king from behind a tree and falls in love with him.

Sitting alone in the garden, the love-stricken maiden draws the likeness of him who has stolen her heart, but is discovered by a fellow-attendant who is equally proficient in painting, and who draws by the portrait of the king a likeness of Sâgarikâ herself. The double portrait is lost through carelessness and is picked up by the king, who falls in love with the maiden whose picture he finds by his own. It is impossible not to find in this plot a counterpart of the story of Agnimitra, who falls in love with his queen's attendant on looking at her portrait.

Like Kâlidâsa's Dushyanta, the king picks up the lotus leaves which had been applied on Sâgarikâ's feverish person, and finds in the pallid circles therein the contour of the maiden's well-proportioned bosom. Soon after the lovers meet, but as usual the meeting is interrupted by the untimely approach of the queen. Once again the queen finds undeniable evidence of the king's love for Sâgarikâ; the king, like Kâlidâsa's Purûravas, falls at her feet, but the queen retires with ill-suppressed resentment.

The amorous Sâgarikâ is, like Mâlavikâ, locked up by the angry queen. A magician then comes from Ujjayinî and shows off his feats. Soon after the palace seems to be on flame, and the king rushes to save Sâgarikâ, who was enchained inside, and rescues her; but the flames disappear; it was only a feat of the magician! When Sâgarikâ is brought out, she is recognised to be Ratnâvalî, the princess of Ceylon; and, like Mâlavikâ, Ratnâvalî is at last made over to the king by the queen herself.

A still more remarkable play, the *Nâgânanda*, is also attributed to Sîlâditya II., but is probably, like *Ratnâvalî*, the work of some poet of his court. We call it a remarkable work, because it is probably the only Indian Buddhist

drama which has come down to us. In this Buddhist play we find Hindu gods and goddesses mixed up with Buddhist objects of veneration. It is this which gives the work its special value.

Jîmûtavâhana, prince of the Vidyâdharas, finds Malayâvatî, princess of the Siddhas, engaged in the worship of Gaurî (a Hindu goddess), and falls in love with her. He appears before her, as Dushyanta appeared before Sakuntalâ, and is received with courtesy, and the maiden, we need hardly say, falls in love with the prince. The usual symptoms of love, as in Sakuntalâ, affect Malayâvatî; she is feverish, and sandal-juice is applied to her person, and she is fanned with plantain-leaf.

Jîmûtavâhana employs himself with drawing a portrait of the maiden who had stolen his heart. He asks for a piece of red arsenic to draw the portrait, and his companion picks up from the ground and brings some pieces, from which five colours (blue, yellow, red, brown, and variegated) could be obtained. From this account it would appear that the ancient Hindus, like the ancient painters of Pompei, used coloured earth and minerals for their painting.

Malayâvatî watches the young prince as he draws the picture, and thinking it was the portrait of some other maiden whom he loved, becomes jealous and faints. In the meantime Malayâvatî's father sends a message to Jîmûtavâhana offering his daughter as his bride; but Jîmûtavâhana does not yet know that the maiden he had seen was the princess herself, and desiring to be true to the maiden he had seen, refuses the hand of the princess!

The mistakes of both the lovers are soon removed. The prince discovers that the maiden with whom he had fallen in love is the very princess whose hand is offered to him, and the princess too soon discovers that the portrait which the prince had drawn is her own portrait. Wedding follows with great pomp and ceremony.

We have an amusing account here of a parasite of the king's court, Sekharaka, who has regaled himself too freely with wine during the festivities, and makes some ludicrous blunders. He declares that there are only two gods for him, Baladeva and Kâma—the former being a Hindu god known for his drinking exploits, and the latter being the Hindu god of love; and the valiant knight goes out to meet his lady-love, a female slave with whom he is in love. Instead of meeting that sweet damsel, he meets the prince's companion, a Brâhman, who had put his garment over his head to keep out insects, and so looked like a veiled woman. Sekharaka, not very keen in his perception, embraces the Brâhman as his mistress, to the utter disgust of the latter, who stops his nose at the smell of liquor! Confusion is worse confounded when the sweet damsel herself appears on the spot; the not very discriminating lover is taxed with courting another maiden, and the Brâhman is treated to some choice epithets as "tawny monkey," has his sacred thread torn, and offers to fall at the feet of the slave-girl in order to get out of the scrape. Everything, however, is at last explained satisfactorily.

We are then introduced to the bride and bridegroom in the raptures of their young love; the latter politely asks for a kiss in these words—

> "O lovely one! if this face of thine with its pink flush as it is lighted up by the sun's rays, and with its soft down revealed by the spreading gleam of its teeth, is really a lotus, why is not a bee seen drinking the honey from it?"—BOYD.

But the lover is rudely interrupted by news about his kingdom which takes him away.

So far the story is like the story of other Hindu plays; but the last two Acts (V. and VI.) are essentially Buddhistic, and illustrate, of course in an extravagant form, the real virtue of self-sacrifice for the good of others.

Jîmûtavâhana goes to the Western Ghats, and sees on

the sea-shore a heap of bones of Nâgas killed by Garûda, the king of birds. Nâgas are snakes, but in the conception of Hindu and Buddhist poets they are formed like men, except that they are scaly and have hoods rising from their backs. A compact has been made with Garûda that a Nâga will be sent to him daily for his food, and as Jîmûtavâhana sees a Nâga tearing himself from his weeping mother and preparing himself as Garûda's food, his heart bleeds within him. He manages to offer himself up to the ferocious Garûda in place of the Nâga, and the bird flies away with him.

There is wailing and lamentation in Jîmûtavâhana's household when the Nâga runs there and reports that the prince has offered himself a sacrifice. His old parents and his newly-married wife rush to where Garûda is still eating the prince's flesh, his life all but extinct. The real Nâga also rushes in there and offers himself up to save the innocent prince, and thus proves his identity.

"Not to mention the mark of Svastika on the breast, are there not the scales on my body? Do you not count the two tongues as I speak? nor see these three hoods of mine?"—BOYD.

Garûda then discovers his mistake and is horrified.

"Alas! alas! his own body has been of his own accord presented for my food by this noble-minded one, through pity to save the life of a Nâga who had fallen within the reach of my voracity. What a terrible sin have I committed! In a word, this is a Bodhisatva * whom I have slain."—BOYD.

Jîmûtavâhana instructs Garûda how the sin can be expiated.

"Cease for ever from destroying life; repent of thy former deeds; labour to gather together an unbroken chain of good actions by inspiring confidence in all living beings."—BOYD.

The heroic prince expires after giving these instructions,

* A Bodhisatva is a potential Buddha, or one who has only one more birth remaining before he becomes a perfect Buddha.

as he had been more than half eaten up. His parents prepare to mount the funeral pyre to depart from this world. The lamenting young widow invokes Gaurî, the goddess whom she invoked before marriage.

All ends happily. Gaurî restores the prince to life, and Garûda prevails on Indra—a Hindu god—to revive to life all the Nâgas whom he killed before. *Harm not living creatures* ;—that is the moral of this Buddhist play.

Another century rolled on from the date of Sîlâditya II., and a truly great poet arose—not a plagiarist of Kâlidâsa, but his worthy peer in merit and in fame. Bhavabhûti, also called Srîkantha, was a Brâhman, born in Vidarbha or Berar, but soon attached himself to the learned court of Kanouj, then the literary capital of India. From his native region "stern and wild" the poetic child had imbibed that appreciation of Nature in her wild magnificence which distinguishes him from all other Sanscrit poets. From the cultured court of Kanouj he no doubt learnt that art of poetry and the rules of drama which set off the effusions of his genius. He was not destined, however, to pass his days in Kanouj. Yasovarman, the king of Kanouj, was defeated by the powerful Lalitâditya, king of Kashmir, and the poet accompanied the conqueror to Kashmir.

Three of Bhavabhûti's pieces have come down to us. We will begin with the *Mâlatîmâdhava,* or the loves of Mâlatî and Mâdhava.

Mâdhava is the son of Devarâta, the minister of the poet's own country, Vidarbha or Berar, and has come to Padmâvatî or Ujjayinî to complete his studies. In that town, as he walked along the streets, Mâlatî, the daughter of the minister of the place—

"From her casement has beheld the youth,—he graceful as the god of love, herself love's blooming bride,—nor seen in vain."—H. H. WILSON.

On the occasion of the annual festival of the god of

Love, the people flock to the shrine of Love to pay their homage. Mâlatî too repairs to the shrine on an elephant, and meets Mâdhava, and the youth and maiden gaze on each other, and fall in love.

But the course of true love never does run smooth; and the king of Padmâvatî has promised Mâlatî's hand to a favourite, Nandana, and the king's minister, Mâlatî's father, dares not openly refuse his consent. The news is a bolt from the blue to the love-stricken maiden, and Kâmandakî, a Buddhist priestess or abbess, exclaims in pity—

"What can I aid? Fate and her sire alone exact obedience from a daughter. True Sakuntalâ, of Kusika's high race, bestowed her love on a self-chosen lord, the king Dushyanta. A bright nymph of heaven espoused a mortal monarch, Purûravas, and the fair princess, Vâsavadatta, scorned the husband of her father's choice, and fled with Prince Udayana. So poets tell, but these were desperate acts."—WILSON.

It is apparent that the priestess, or rather the poet, refers here to his great predecessor Kâlidâsa's two works, and also to the story of Vâsavadattâ, which was so popular a theme of fiction and drama in the court of Sîlâditya II.

The Buddhist priestess, however, had made up her mind to help Mâlatî and Mâdhava. They have an interview in the house of the priestess, but Mâlatî is torn away thence by the order of the queen. Mâdhava in despair determines to apply to mysterious rites for gaining his end, and this leads us to a scene of awful Tântrika worship. The genius of Bhavabhûti never appears to greater advantage than when depicting a scene of magnificence or terror.

In a field in which dead bodies are burnt is situated a temple of the terrific goddess Châmundâ, and the malignant priestess, Kapâla Kundalâ, with her necklace of skulls (as her name implies), is engaged in worship.

There goes Mâdhava with his offering of raw flesh, to obtain from ghosts some help towards the attainment of his end. He offers the flesh to ghosts and goblins and exclaims—

"Now wake the terrors of the place, beset
With crowding and malignant fiends; the flames
From funeral pyres scarce lend their sullen light,
Clogged with their fleshly prey, to dissipate
The fearful gloom that hems them in. Pale ghosts
Sport with foul goblins, and their dissonant mirths
In shrill respondent shrieks is echoed round.
Well, be it so. I seek and must address them.
Demons of ill, and disembodied spirits,
Who haunt this spot, I bring you flesh for sale;
The flesh of man, untouched by trenchant steel,
And worthy your acceptance. (*A great noise.*)
How the noise,
High, shrill, and indistinct, of chattering sprites
Communicative, fills the charnel ground!
Strange forms like foxes flit along the sky:
From the red hair of their lank bodies darts
The meteor blaze; or from their mouths that stretch
From ear to ear, thick set with numerous fangs,
Or eyes or beards or brows, the radiance streams.
And now I see the goblin host: . . . .
. . . .
They mark my coming, and the half-chewed morsel
Falls to the howling wolf,—and now they fly.

(*Pauses, and looking round.*)

Race, dastardly as hideous! All is plunged
In utter gloom. The river flows before me,
The boundary of the funeral ground, that winds
Through mouldering bones its interrupted way.
Wild raves the torrent as it rushes past
And rends its crumbling banks; the wailing owl
Hoots through its skirting groves, and to the sounds
The loud long-moaning jackal yells reply."—WILSON.

Suddenly Mâdhava hears the voice, musical and wild, of a young woman in distress—

> "Ah, cruel father! She you meant an offering
> To the king's favour, now deserted dies."—WILSON.

That voice is not unfamiliar to Mâdhava's ears; he bursts into the temple and finds Mâlatî dressed as a victim and about to be sacrificed by Aghoraghanta, the terrible priest of Châmundâ. Some Tântrika rites require the sacrifice of a virgin, and the sweetest and purest virgin in Padmâvatî town had been selected and kidnapped for this sacrifice. Mâlatî herself does not know that she was stolen:

> "I reposed," she says,
> "At eve upon the terrace: when I woke
> I found myself a prisoner."—WILSON.

Mâdhava rescues his beloved and slays the malignant priest. But the more malignant priestess Kapâla Kundalâ vows revenge.

We pass by a great many minor incidents. At last Mâlatî elopes with Mâdhava. The king sends his guards to arrest the culprits; but Mâdhava beats back the guards, and the king generously forgives him in consideration of his valour.

Here the play might happily have ended with the marriage of the lovers with the king's sanction; but Bhavabhûti prolongs the story to bring in some powerful description of nature and of human feelings. His incidents and plot, as usual, are extravagant, but his descriptions are matchless in power. Mâlatî is once more kidnapped by the foul priestess Kapâla Kundalâ, and Mâdhava goes in search of her among the Vindhya mountains. Saudâmini, who was a Buddhist priestess before, but has now acquired supernatural powers by the practice of *Yoga,* resolves to help Mâdhava; and from her lips we have a powerful description of the locality:—

> "How wide the prospect spreads,—mountain and rock,
> Towns, villages and woods, and glittering streams!
> There where the Pârâ and the Sindhu wind,

The towers and temples, pinnacles and gates,
And spires of Padmâvatî, like a city
Precipitated from the skies, appear,
Inverted in the pure translucent wave.
There flows Lavanâ's frolic stream, whose groves
By early rains refreshed, afford the youth
Of Padmâvatî pleasant haunts, and where
Upon the herbage, brightening in the shower,
The heavy uddered kine contented browse.
Hark! how the banks of the broad Sindhu fall,
Crashing, in the undermining current,
Like the loud voice of thunder-laden clouds;
The sound extends, and like Heramba's roar,
As deepened by the hollow echoing caverns,
It floats reverberating round the hills.
Those mountains, coated with thick clustering woods
Of fragrant sandal and ripe Mâlûra
Recall to memory the lofty mountains
That southward stretch, where Godâvarî
Impetuous flashes through the dark deep shade
Of skirting forests, echoing to her fury."—WILSON.

Saudâminî, by her magical powers, at last rescues Mâlatî, and Mâlatî is happily wedded to Mâdhava.

The other two plays of Bhavabhûti are taken from the Râmâyana. One of them, the *Mahâvîra Charita*, narrates the story of Râma from his boyhood to his conquests in Ceylon and return with Sîtâ to his native country. This play is decidedly inferior to the other plays of Bhavabhûti, but nevertheless contains passages of great power. There is a ring of true poetry in the passage in which the ancient king Janaka (the promulgator of the Upanishads and the proud asserter of the Kshatriya's equality with Brâhmans in learning) is roused to indignation by the pretensions of Parasurâma, the son of Jamadagni. The old king indignantly exclaims: "Although he hates us, still we have had patience with him so long. When he shakes us again like a blade of grass, then let the bow be bent against him, although he be a Brâhman."

The source of the Godâvarî, in the poet's own native land, is thus described:—

"Where, amid Janasthâna's frowning woods,
The tall Prasravana uprears his head,
Dark tinctured in the clouds, and bathes his brow
With their descending dews; thence through his caves,
He culls the oozing moisture, and sends forth
The pure Godâvarî to win her way,
Stately and clear, through ancient trees that shade,
Impervious tangling, her majestic course."—WILSON.

The other play, *Uttara Râma Charita* continues the story of the Râmâyana to Sîtâ's exile, and to the reconciliation of Râma with his children Lava and Kusa. In power and in graphic description, this play is equal to the Mâlatî Mâdhava, while in pathos and tenderness it will compare with anything in the whole range of Sanscrit literature.

The story is the story of the Râmâyana, and need not be told in detail. The play opens with a conversation of Râma and Sîtâ, now returned from Ceylon, and seated on the throne of Ayodhyâ or Oude. In the second scene, Lakshmana exhibits to them a series of paintings representing the past occurrences of Râma's life, and the gentle Sîtâ can scarcely look over the scenes of her past sufferings without sorrow. The poet, of course, has a word to say about his beloved Godâvarî, which

"Bursts forth, and down the mountain wends her way
Through gloomy shades and thick entangling woods."
—WILSON.

And Râma reminds Sîtâ of their happy days passed there in touching lines,—

"Recall'st thou, love, our humble happy dwelling
Upon the borders of the shining stream
Where every hour in fond endearments wrapped,
Or in sweet interchange of thought engaged,
We lived in transport, not a wish beyond
Each other, reckless of the flight of time?"
—WILSON.

The languid Sîtâ, then gone with child, wants repose, and Râma lovingly addresses her—

> "Be these arms thy pillow,
> Thine, ever since the nuptial knot united us,
> Thine, in the days of infancy and youth,
> In lonely thickets and in princely palaces,
> Thine, ever thine.
> *Sîtâ.* True, true, my ever kind and cherished lord. [*Sleeps.*
> *Râma.* Her latest waking words are words of love,
> And nought of her but is most dear to me.
> Her presence is ambrosia to my sight;
> Her contact fragrant sandal; her fond arms
> Twined round my neck are a far richer clasp
> Than costliest gems; and in my house she reigns
> The guardian goddess of my fame and fortune.
> Oh! I could never bear again to lose her."—WILSON.

The last sentiment is artfully put in here by the poet, for Râma is on the eve of losing Sîtâ again. Weak, as he is loving and gentle, he hears with distress, immediately after leaving Sîtâ in her sleep, that his subjects are ill-pleased with his conduct in accepting Sîtâ again, after she had been carried away by Râvana. Too weak to bear popular dissatisfaction, he submits to their desires, and sends poor Sîtâ to exile.

Twelve years have since passed and gone. The twins to whom Sîtâ gave birth soon after her exile have grown to be sturdy boys, versed in arms as in learning under the tuition of Vâlmîki. Sîtâ leads a pensive life in the forests, her face

> "Pale and wan and wet with tears,
> She moves along like Tenderness
> Invested with a mortal dress;
> Or like embodied Grief she shines,
> That sad o'er love in absence pines."—WILSON.

It is arranged that Sîtâ, rendered invisible by divine power, should have an interview with Râma, and the

poet must needs have the interview on the banks of the Godâvarî. There Râma strays, accompanied by Vâsantî, a friend of Sîtâ, and Sîtâ and Tamasâ,—invisible to Râma,—also repair there. Every scene there recalls to Râma the bygone days when Râma and Sîtâ lived there together, and fills him with grief; and Vâsantî does not fail, by cruel though gentle hints, to bring home to Râma his injustice towards Sîtâ. Bhavabhûti is too spirited not to feel indignant at Râma's extreme weakness in yielding to popular clamour, and at his unspeakable injustice in sending an innocent and helpless and loving wife to exile. And though the poet shares a Hindu's feeling of general respect for Râma, yet the reader can perceive the poet is determined to give Râma "a bit of his mind," for his unparalleled feebleness and crime.

Vâsantî takes care to remind Râma,—

> "Here in this plantain grove
> Behold the marble which in happier days
> Supported thee and Sîtâ. Here she sat,
> And from her hands gave fodder to the deer
> That boldly crowded round their gentle mistress.
> *Râma.* I cannot bear to look upon it." [*Weeps.*
> —WILSON.

Poor Sîtâ, who is present, though invisible to Râma, can bear it no longer; she exclaims—

> "Vâsantî, this is cruel:
> My lord demands respect from all, and most
> From those who love me."—WILSON.

But Vâsantî is inexorable, and goes on speaking to Râma.

> "How hadst thou the heart
> To drive that gentle being from thee? Once
> She was thy love, thy other dearer life,
> Light of thine eyes, and nectar of thy soul." *—WILSON.

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* No student of Sanscrit who has read these lines in the original, has ever forgotten their matchless beauty, rhythm, and tenderness.

In vain does Râma plead the people's will. Vâsantî goes on, and makes horrible suggestions as to the fate which has probably overtaken Sîtâ after her exile in the forest. Râma shudders and weeps aloud. Sîtâ can witness her lord's sufferings no longer, and exclaims to Tamasâ, "Alas! he weeps aloud." But Tamasâ answers—

> "'Tis better thus
> To give our sorrows way. Sufferers should speak
> Their griefs ; the bursting heart that overflows
> In words obtains relief."—WILSON.

We almost think we are perusing a paraphrase of Shakespeare's matchless lines in Macbeth,—

> "Give sorrow words ; the grief that does not speak,
> Whispers the o'erfraught heart and makes it break."

And yet the bard of Vidarbha lived eight centuries before the bard of Avon!

The cruel lesson is administered to Râma until he faints. Sîtâ, herself invisible, touches his forehead, and at that loving touch Râma revives, exclaiming, "Joy, joy, Vâsantî! wilt thou share my joy?" and declares that he has felt the touch of Sîtâ's hand—

> "I could not be deceived,
> Too well I know the touch of that dear hand
> The marriage rite first placed in mine ; even now
> Cool as the snow drift to my fevered palm,
> And soft as jasmine buds, I grasp it."—WILSON.

But Sîtâ gets away. She and Tamasâ must depart, but she can scarcely tear herself away.

> "Oh, let me look,
> A little moment longer, on a form
> I never, never, may behold again!"—WILSON.

And before leaving, she exclaims—

> "I bow me to the feet of my dear lord,
> The source of every blessing."—WILSON.

Yes, the poor, banished, injured Sîtâ bows to the feet of her dear lord,—that lord who had heedlessly, feebly, cruelly sent her to the forest,—alone, helpless, on the eve of her confinement! Female self-abnegation can go no further; undying love has never been more forcibly represented; human imagination has never pictured a nobler, purer, saintlier character than that of the gentle, ever-loving, all-forgiving Sîtâ.

Once again, in another place, the poet gives vent to his indignation at Râma's feeble conduct. The ancient king Janaka, revered as much for his prowess as for his holy life and his Vedic lore, grows indignant when he remembers his daughter's sufferings. The warm blood tingles in his old veins when he ponders on Râma's conduct, and he bursts out in rage—

> "Shame on the thankless race that wronged thy fame,
> And Râma's haste to listen to their calumnies.
> The cruel blow that has overwhelmed my child
> Arouses all my soul, and tempts my wrath
> To deal with arms, or direr imprecations,
> Destruction on my Sîtâ's persecutors."—WILSON.

The story of Râma's Asvamedha sacrifice is well known. The horse is let loose, and Râma's sons dare to detain it, and thus unwillingly provoke hostilities with Râma's forces. The meeting of Lava and Chandraketu is well described. Both are young heroes, full of ardour for battle, but displaying chivalrous courtesy and respect towards each other. Chandraketu descends from his car, —why?

> "To pay my homage to this valiant youth,
> And do a soldier's duty. To assail
> At such advantage one who fights on foot
> The god of arms forbids."—WILSON.

And this was written centuries before chivalry was developed in Europe.

The sage Vâlmîki arranges a happy reconciliation with which the play is to conclude; but the poet must have another hit at Râma before he lays down his pen. A theatrical performance is to take place before Râma, and the subject is Râma's desertion of his wife! Sîtâ on the stage calls for help when deserted, and in her distress and agony throws herself in the Ganges. Râma can bear it no longer, and starts up exclaiming—

> "Dear love, forbear! I fly to thy assistance."—WILSON.

His brother Lakshmana reminds him—

> "Does my lord remember, what he views is but a fiction?
> *Râma.* Alas! that such a portion should have been the gift of Râma to his tender bride, the dear companion of his forest dwelling."—WILSON.

The reader is herein reminded of the stage in Hamlet, which was contrived to convict Hamlet's uncle of his guilt. The play ends happily, Râma receives back Sîtâ and his boys Lava and Kusa, and the people of Ayodhya are penitent, and bend "in prostrate homage to the Queen."

When we have spoken of Kâlidâsa and of Bhavabhûti, we have spoken of all that is best in the Sanscrit dramatic literature. Several hundreds of plays must have been composed and enacted in what we may call the Augustan Era of Sanscrit literature, but the works of genius only survive; polished imitation and lifeless pieces do not stand the test of time. Some of the masterpieces of Shakespeare will be read even after Shakespeare's language becomes a dead language, but Peel, Green, and Marlowe, or even Ben Jonson will scarcely be remembered twelve centuries after the date of Elizabeth.

The total number of Hindu plays which exist, or which are alluded to by writers on the Drama, is estimated by H. H. Wilson to be not more than sixty. Most of these, however, are of a comparatively recent date, and very few

are of any merit, or are generally known or read. The only pieces (besides those spoken of above) which are generally known and read at the present day are the *Mrichchhakati*, the *Mudrâ Râkshasa*, and the *Veni Sanhâra*. A word or two about them will suffice.

The Mrichchhakati is ascribed to a king Sudraka, and the time of its composition is unknown. Internal evidence leads us, however, to think that it must be referred to the brilliant literary period which commenced with the sixth century. Its style is not widely different from the style of composition of the other plays, of this period, and, like many of them, it has its scene at Ujjayinî. The Puranic Trinity—Brahmâ, Vishnu, and Siva—is recognised (Act VI), Buddhists have already become objects of aversion, though persecution has not yet commenced (Act VII), and the Code of Manu is the recognised law for the administration of justice (Act IX). For the rest, the Mrichchhakati deals not with princes and princesses, but with men and women in the ordinary walks of life; it gives us an insight into the town life of the olden days, with its system of justice and police, its gambling and other vices; and it is a fairly correct picture of the people and their manners. We shall have to allude to the play frequently when we come to the subject of the manners and civilisation of this Period.

The Mudrâ Râkshasa is a more recent play, and the author is Visâkha Datta. The closing speech of the drama would seem to show that the Musalmans were already masters of India when this play was composed. Its chief interest lies in the fact that it refers to the political revolution by which Chânakya helped Chandragupta to secure the throne of the Magadhas about 320 B.C. The contrast between the character of Chânakya, who is scheming, vindictive, violent, and inexorable, and that of Râkshasa, who is generous, straightforward, noble, and faithful, is finely drawn.

The play of Venî Sanhâra is attributed to Bhatta

Nârâyana, who is said to have been one of the Brâhmans who came on Âdisura's invitation from Kanouj to Bengal. Many Brâhmans in Bengal still claim descent from the author of this piece. The subject is taken from the Mahâbhârata. Draupadî, when lost by Yudhisthira at dice, was dragged in the public assembly by Duhsâsana by her Venî or braided hair, and she resolved that her hair would remain dishevelled until that insult was revenged. The insult was revenged when Bîhma killed Duryodhana, and Draupadî's hair was bound up again. There are passages which are vigorous, but on the whole the play is harsh in style and rude in execution, and it belongs obviously to a period not very long before the Mahommedan conquest of India.

CHAPTER XIII.

POETRY.

THE name of Kâlidâsa stands foremost in poetry as in drama. There is a series of *Mahâkâvyas* or epics in Sanscrit belonging to the period of which we are now speaking, and the two best of them are Kâlidâsa's. One is called *Raghuvansa* or the race of Raghu, and the other is *Kumâra Sambhava* or the birth of Kumâra, the war god.

The first is a long account of the royal race of Ayodhyâ, beginning with the founder of the dynasty and ending with the last kings of Râma's race. The subject is one more suited for history than for poetry, but the genius of the poet enlivens the whole story. Scenes from the lives of kings are painted with all the skill of a great master; the descriptions are always rich and spirited, and often rise to true poetry; and the reader remains from the first to the last under the spell of Kâlidâsa's rich and superb fancy, and his inimitable sweetness of versification.

One of the happiest and most remarkable passages in the whole work is that in which Râma, after winning back Sîtâ from Ceylon, travels through the air in a celestial car all the way to Ayodhyâ. All India with her rivers and forests and mountains and the blue waters of the ocean lie below, and Râma points out the different places to his gentle and loving consort. Apart from the beauty of the passage, it is interesting as giving us some notion of the geography of India as known to the literary men of Ujjayinî in the sixth century.

In our opinion Kâlidâsa takes a bolder flight, in his Kumâra Sambhava. Here he does not narrate the history of a race of kings, but paints from the exhaustible storehouse of his imagination the love of Umâ for the great Siva, and their happy union.

Umâ was born the daughter of the deity of the Himâlaya mountains, and a sweeter child never saw the light.

> "Blest was that hour, and all the world was gay,
> When Menâ's daughter saw the light of day.
> A rosy glow filled all the brightening sky,
> And odorous breeze came sweeping softly by,
> Breathed round the hill a sweet unearthly strain,
> And the glad heavens poured down their flowery rain."
> —GRIFFITH.

The early years of the gentle maiden are described with exquisite grace and sweetness; but a great future awaits her. The gods intend her as a bride to the mighty Siva, for unto them will be born a child who will lead the gods to victory against the Asuras. Siva is now engaged in pious contemplation in the Himâlaya mountains, and it is arranged that the youthful Umâ will wait on the mighty god as a handmaiden, and look after all his needs.

We can remember nothing lovelier and fresher in the creations of fancy than the image of Umâ clad in chaste garments and decorated with flowers, attending on the great god in his devotions, collecting flowers for him, and doing him due obeisance. In doing obeisance she stooped so low

> "That from her hair,
> Dropped the bright flower that starred the midnight there."
> —GRIFFITH.

And Siva, pleased with her homage, blessed her.

> "Surely thou shalt be
> Blessed with a husband who loves none but thee."
> —GRIFFITH.

Everything might have gone on smoothly to the desired

end, if the mischievous god of Love had not interfered. He marks the moment of Siva's weakness, and lets go his unerring shaft. Let the poet narrate the effect on the hermit-god Siva :—

> "Like the moon's influence on the sea at rest,
> Came passion stealing over the hermit's breast,
> While on the maiden's lip that mocked the dye
> Of ripe red fruit he bent his melting eye.
> And oh ! how showed the lady's love for him,
> The heaving bosom and each quivering limb !
> Like young Kadambas, when the leaf buds swell
> At the warm touch of spring they love so well,
> But still with downcast eyes she sought the ground,
> And durst not turn their burning glances round.
> Then with strong effort Siva lulled to rest
> The storm of passion in his troubled breast,
> And seeks, with angry eyes that round him roll,
> Whence came the tempest over his tranquil soul.
> He looked and saw the bold young archer stand,
> His bow bent ready in his skilful hand,
> Drawn towards the eye,—his shoulder well depressed,
> And the left foot thrown forward as a rest.
> Then was the hermit-god to madness lashed,
> Then from his eye red flames of fury flashed.
> So changed the beauty of that glorious brow,
> Scarce could the gaze support its terror now.
> Hark ! heavenly voices sighing through the air :
> 'Be calm, great Siva, O be calm and spare !'
> Alas ! the angry eye's resistless flashes
> Have scorched the gentle king of love to ashes !"
>
> —GRIFFITH.

Love's bride laments the death of her lord, and Umâ in mortification and grief retires into a wood and begins penances and prayer. The poet launches again into a description of the gentle and tender girl subjecting herself to hard penances unsuited to her frame. Summer is passed amid scorching fires,—in autumn she remains exposed to the rains,—and the blasts of winter see her still unshaken in her purpose.

A young hermit comes to inquire the reason of these

severe penances undertaken by a young and tender damsel. Umâ's maidens explain to him the cause, but the hermit can scarcely believe that so gentle a creature should be in love with so unlovable a god as Siva, who remains smeared with ashes, and wanders about in funeral places.

> "Impatient Umâ listened; the quick blood
> Rushed to her temples in an angry flood."—GRIFFITH.

She explains to the unmannerly hermit with passionate eloquence the glories of the great deity whom none knows and none can comprehend, and she rises to depart from the place in anger and scorn.

> "She turned away, with wrath her bosom swelling,
> Its vest of bark in angry pride repelling,—
> But sudden lo, before her wondering eyes
> In altered form she sees the sage arise;
> 'Tis Siva's self before the atonished maid
> In all his gentlest majesty arrayed!"—GRIFFITH.

Yes, it is Siva himself, who had refused to be forced into love, but is now propitiated and pleased with Umâ's penances, and now humbly craves a return of his affection from Umâ the mountain maid!

Among the shorter poems of Kâlidâsa, the best and sweetest is the *Meghadûta* or the Cloud Messenger. The story is simple. A Yaksha is banished by royal order from his home for being too fond of his wife and neglecting his duties; and in his exile he gazes on the dark cloud of the rainy season and bids it carry a message of love to his dear beloved at home. The lover indicates the way by which the cloud should proceed, and the poet describes the various parts of India from the Vindhyas to the Himâlaya mountains in verse, which, for richness of fancy and melody of rhythm, has never been excelled in the literature of the world.

"On Naga Nadi's banks thy waters shed,
And raise the feeble jasmine's languid head.
Grant for a while thy interposing shroud,
To where those damsels woo the friendly cloud;
As while the garland's flowery stores they seek,
The scorching sunbeams tinge their tender cheek,
The ear-hung lotus fades, and vain they chase,
Fatigued and faint, the drops that dew the face.
What though to northern climes thy journey lay,
Consent to track a shortly devious way.
To fair *Ujjaini's* palaces and pride
And beauteous daughters turn awhile aside;
Those glancing eyes, those lightning looks unseen,
Dark are thy days, and thou in vain hast been.

. . . .

Behold the city whose immortal fame
Glows in *Avanti's* or *Visala's* name!
Renowned for deeds that worth and love inspire,
And bards to paint them with poetic fire:
The fairest portion of celestial birth,
Of Indra's paradise transferred to earth,
The last reward to acts austerest given,
The only recompense then left to heaven.
Here as the early zephyrs waft along,
In swelling harmony, the woodland song,
They scatter sweetness from the fragrant flower,
That joyful opens to the morning hour;
With friendly zeal they sport around the maid
Who early courts their vivifying aid,
And cool from *Sipra's* jelid waves embrace
Each languid limb and enervated grace."—WILSON.

Bhâravi, who was a contemporary or a successor of Kâlidâsa, is by a long way inferior to him in all the qualities which make a great and a true poet. In the richness of a creative fancy, in true tenderness and pathos, and even in the sweetness and melody of verse, Kâlidâsa is incomparably a greater poet. But nevertheless Bhâravi boasts of a vigour of thought and of language, a spirited and lofty eloquence in expression, which Kâlidâsa seldom equals. Only one Mahâkâvya, the *Kirâtârjunîam* of Bhâravi, has been left to us, and it is one

of the most vigorous and spirited poems in the Sanscrit language.

The story is taken from the Mahâbhârata. Yudhisthira is in exile, and his spirited wife Draupadî urges him to break the treaty with his cousins and to win back his kingdom. With the burning eloquence of a proud and a wronged woman, she points out to him that peace and submission ill become a Kshatriya; that faith is not to be kept with the faithless; that kingdoms and glory are not won by meekness and resignation.

> " Counsel to a saintly monarch
>   Is rebuke from woman weak,
> " But, ignoring woman's duty,
>   Pardon if my feelings speak !
>
> " Spurn this sloth, assume thy prowess,
>   Dire destruction quick devise,
> " Hermits saintly, not proud monarchs,
>   Ever-during patience prize !
>
> " If forgiveness thou wilt cherish
>   Quelling pride and noble ire,
> " Forego this bow of royal glory,
>   Plait thy locks and worship Fire !"
>
> (*An unpublished translation by the present writer.*)

Yudhisthira's spirited brother Bhîma supports Draupadî; but Yudhisthira is not to be moved from his plighted word, and recommends resignation. In the meantime Vyâsa, the mythical compiler of the Vedas, comes to see the king in his exile, and advises Arjuna to seek by penance those celestial arms, with which he will conquer his foes in the hour of battle. Arjuna accordingly takes leave of his brothers, and Draupadî of course urges him on to the task with her persuasive eloquence. The hero retires into the solitudes of the Himâlaya mountains to perform his penances.

No part of the poem brings out Bhâravi's merits as a poet to greater advantage than the account of Arjuna's penances in this wild solitude. His innate pride and

prowess are admirably contrasted with his present peaceful vocation; and the influence of his presence is felt by the animate and inanimate creatures of the peaceful hermitage. Indra's messenger sees this strange hermit, and reports to the god accordingly.

> "Like a luminary of the sky,
> Though clad in barks, on yonder hill,
> "A man, intent on purpose high,
> Doth penances! And earth is still!
>
> "His arms, whose muscles snake-like coil,
> Hold a mighty powerful bow;
> "But gentle are his deeds and toil,
> No gentler hermit lives below!
>
> "The wind blows soft, the sward is green,
> And gentle rains the dust allay.
> "By worth subdued, the elements
> In one accord obeisance pay!
>
> "The forest beasts their strife forget,
> And listen to his beck and word;
> "For him the trees with blossoms wait,
> The mountains own him as their lord!
>
> "His toil bespeaks a purpose high,
> His mien denotes success is near.
> "A gentle hermit!—But his eye
> Instils a sense of awe and fear!
>
> "If from saints he is descended,
> From Daityas sprung, or kingly line,
> "I know not, lord! Nor why in woods
> He penance doth and rites divine."
>
> (*Unpublished translation.*)

Indra is pleased with the message, for Arjuna is his son, and Indra wishes him success. But nevertheless he is resolved to try the mortal as he tries all anchorites, and sends celestial nymphs to lure the hero from his austere rites. Our author launches into a description of these lovely nymphs in four cantos, describing how they gather

flowers and plunge into a river, and appear with renovated beauty before the solitary anchorite.

Pale with penances and rites,
  In arms accoutred, calm and great,
Peaceful as the mighty Vedas
  Arjun's self at last they met!

Resplendent in a robe of light,
  Alone upon a hill he stood,
Like the beauteous lord of night!
  And seemed the god of all the wood!

Pale with penances,—but great!
  Unapproachable,—in his peaceful bower!
Alone,—but strong as hosts in might!
  A saint,—but wielding Indra's power!
(*Unpublished translation.*)

Such was the hero whom the nymphs meet, and such was the saint whom they vainly try to tempt. The celestial beauties retire, somewhat humbled, and then Indra himself comes in the guise of an old anchorite to dissuade Arjuna from his penances; even as Kâlidâsa's Siva comes in disguise to dissuade Umâ from hers. The mutability of worldly grandeur, the folly of seeking power and fame, the wisdom of seeking true virtue and salvation—all these are pleaded by the disguised god with convincing eloquence; but Arjuna remains unconvinced and unshaken in his purpose.

"Father! thy advice is holy,
  But alas it suits not me,
As the starry sky of night
  Doth not suit the light of day.

For I seek to wash our stain,—
  Stain for which this heart hath bled,—
With the teardrops for the slain
  By their sorrowing widows shed!

If the hope on which I've rested
  Be unreal, idle, vain,
Be it so;—thy words are wasted!
  Pardon, if I cause thee pain.

Till I conquer, crush my foe,
  Win again our long-lost fame,
Salvation's self to me were vain,—
  Hind'rance to my lofty aim!"

(*Unpublished translation.*)

Indra is not ill-pleased with this unshaken determination, which yields neither to temptation nor to reason; and the god discloses himself and points out to the hero the way to win the celestial arms he seeks, by the worship of Siva, who alone can bestow them.

Once more Arjuna engages in penances and severe austerities, until the fame of his rigid piety is carried to Siva himself. Siva now comes to meet the pious Kshatriya —not in the guise of an old man to dissuade him from his religious performances, but as a warrior wishing to try a warrior's steel. He assumes the guise of a Kirâta or wild hunter, and a mighty boar which came to attack Arjuna is slain. Both Arjuna and the disguised god claim the merit of having slain the animal, and thus a quarrel is picked up which leads to a fight, which our author describes in no less than six cantos.

The battle, though full of striking and spirited passages, is nevertheless described in the extravagant style common to Hindu poets. Arms of snakes, arms of fire, and arms of clouds and rain are discharged until the firmament is filled with hissing serpents, roaring flames, or copious torrents of rain! But all these miraculous weapons are of little avail to Arjuna; to the hero's great astonishment, the wild hunter replies to every weapon with a mightier one, and is more than a match for the most skilled warrior of the period!

Astonished at the hunter's skill,
  Arjun, conqueror of his foes,
Paused in silence and in doubt,
  Misgivings such as these arose!

"Warriors great, of matchless power,
  I have met and beaten all.

"Doth the sun bow to the moon?
Before this swain shall Arjun fall?

"Is this magic, is this dream?
Am I great Arjuna still?
"Why conquers not my mighty power
This mountaineer's untutored skill?

"Rending the sky, as if in twain,
Shaking the wide earth's solid frame,
"How fights this boorish mountaineer!
Deeds a man disguised proclaim!

"Not Bhîshma's self nor Drona owns
Such skill to shield, to send his dart!
"Can a simple mountain swain
Possess such superhuman art?"

(*Unpublished translation.*)

At length, deprived of all arms, Arjuna springs on his invincible foe to wrestle him down. The wrestling goes on long, and Siva, no mean wrestler, springs into the air to attack Arjuna, and the latter holds him by the feet to pull him down. This appeal the mighty god cannot withstand; a faithful worshipper holds him by the feet, Siva reveals himself, and blesses the saintly warrior, and bestows on him the coveted arms by which he is to win back his kingdom and his fame.

Such is the celebrated poem of Bhâravi, which does not boast of any interesting plot or any striking creations of fancy, but which is characterised by a force and vigour of sentiment and expression which have given the poem a place among the unperishable works of the ancient Hindus.

Coming now to the seventh century, we know on the authority of the Chinese traveller I-tsing that the poet Bhartrihari graced the age of Sîlâditya II. Bhartrihari's *Satakas* show that he was a Hindu, but they are nevertheless marked by the Buddhist spirit of the time in which he lived. Professor Tawney of Calcutta has rendered some of them into elegant and spirited English

verse, and a few extracts will convey an idea of the original to the reader:—

"Not to swerve from truth or mercy, not for life to stoop to shame;
From the poor no gifts accepting, nor from men of evil fame;
Lofty faith and proud submission—who on fortune's giddy ledge,
Firm can tread this path of duty, narrow as the sabre's edge?"

"Abstinence from sin of bloodshed, and from speech of others' wives,
Truth and open-handed largess, love for men of holy lives,
Freedom from desire and avarice,—Such the path that leads to bliss,
Path which every sect may travel, and the simple cannot miss."

"Treachery is of crimes the blackest,
Avarice is a world of vice,
Truth is nobler far than penance,
Purity than sacrifice.
Charity 's the first of virtues,
Dignity doth most adorn,
Knowledge triumphs unassisted,
Better death than public scorn."

"You are a lord of acres
But we are lords of song;
And we subdue the subtle,
If you subdue the strong;
The rich of you are speaking,
In me the wise believe,
And if you find me irksome,
Why then—I take my leave."

"What profit are the Vedas,
Or books of legal lore,
Or those long-winded legends
Repeated o'er and o'er?
What gain we by our merits?
A dwelling in the skies—
A miserable mansion,
That men of sense despise—

All these are huckstering methods—
Give me that perfect way
Of self-contained fruition,
Where pain is done away."

"A hermit's forest cell, and fellowship with deer,
A harmless meal of fruit, stone beds beside the stream;
Are helps to those who long for Siva's guidance here;
But be the mind devout, our homes will forests seem."
—C. H. TAWNEY.

The extracts of Bhartrihari given above will enable the reader to appreciate the opinion of Professor Lassen, that it is the terse and epigrammatic character of Bhartihari's short poems which make them conspicuous among the productions of the Indian muse; and the perfect art with which they are composed make them worthy of being ranked among the masterpieces of Indian genius.

We have seen before that a Mahâkâvya known as *Bhattikâvya* is also probably the work of Bhartrihari. It is the story of the Râmâyana told briefly; the remarkable feature of the work is that it has been written to teach grammar! All the conjugational forms of verbs which are difficult to remember, and all other difficult derivations of words have been interwoven in melodious verse, so that the student who knows the poem knows Sanscrit grammar also. The poetry does not aspire to the beauty of Kâlidâsa's poems, or the dignity of Bhâravi's work, but the mastery of words and the art of composition are perfect and matchless, and worthy of the author of the epigrammatic Satakas.

Two other Mahâkâvyas are also generally studied by Hindu students; but both these are later productions, and belong probably to the eleventh and twelfth centuries, when the Rajputs had become masters of India. One of them is *Naishadha* of Sri Harsha, and the other is *Sisupâlavadha* of Mâgha. The stories of both are taken from the Mahâbhârata.

Naishadha is the well-known story of Nala and Dama-

yantî, one of the most touching episodes of the great epic. Dr. Bühler fixes the dates of this poem in the twelfth century. The poet is said by Râjasekhara to have been born in Benares, but he was certainly familiar with Bengal; and Vidyâpati, a Bengali poet of the fourteenth century, claims Sri Harsha to be a Bengali. It is possible, as has been conjectured, that he migrated from the North-West to Bengal.

Sisupâlabadha, as its name implies, is the story of the destruction of the proud king Sisupâla by Krishna. It is a distant imitation of Bhâravi's Kirâtârjunîya; and the name *Mâgha* (a winter month) is probably assumed by the author to indicate that he takes away the glory of *Bhâravi* (which means the sun). According to the *Bhoja Pravandha*, he was a contemporary of King Bhoja of Dhara in the eleventh century.

The most melodious song that has ever been written in Sanscrit is the *Gita Govinda*, written by Jayadeva of Bengal in the twelfth century.

Jayadeva was a poet of the court of Lakshmana Sena, as has been proved by the colophon of an ancient copy of his poem discovered by Dr. Bühler in Kashmir, and he obtained from the king the title of Kavirâja. His poem relates to the loves of Krishna and Râdhâ, and has been rendered with matchless grace and beauty into English verse by Sir Edwin Arnold. One extract will suffice. It describes erring Krishna's amours with other nymphs, and describes the gratification of the five senses; smell, sight, touch, taste, and hearing:—

"One with star blossomed champac wreathed, woos him to rest his head,
On the dark pillow of her breast so tenderly outspread;
And o'er his brow with roses blown she fans a fragrance rare,
That falls on the enchanted sense like rain in thirsty air;
While the company of damsels wave many an odorous spray,
And Krishna laughing, toying, sighs the soft spring away.

Another gazing in his face, sits wistfully apart,
Searching it with those looks of love that leap from heart to heart;
Her eyes—afire with shy desire, veiled by their lashes black—
Speak so that Krishna cannot choose but send the message back;
In the company of damsels whose bright eyes in the ring
Shine round him with soft meanings in the merry light of spring.

The third one of that dazzling band of dwellers in the wood—
Body and bosom panting with the pulse of youthful blood—
Leans over him, as in his ear a lightsome thing to speak,
And then with leaf-soft lip imprints a kiss below his cheek;
A kiss that thrills, and Krishna turns at the silken touch
To give it back,—Ah, Radha! forgetting thee too much.

And one with arch smile beckons him away from Jumna's banks,
Where the tall bamboo bristle like spears in battle ranks,
And plucks his cloth to make him come into the mango shade,
Where the fruit is ripe and golden, and the milk and cakes are laid;
Oh! golden red the mangoes, and glad the feasts of spring,
And fair the flowers to lie upon and sweet the dancers sing.

Sweetest of all that temptress who dances for him now
With subtle feet which part and meet in the Ràs measure slow,
To the chime of silver bangles, and the beat of rose-leaf hands,
And pipe and lute and cymbal played by the woodland bands;
So that wholly passion-laden—eye, ear, sense, soul o'ercome—
Krishna is theirs in the forest; his heart forgets its home."

CHAPTER XIV.

FICTION.

INDIA was not better known to the ancient nations for her science and poetry than as the birthplace of fables and fiction. The oldest Aryan fables that are to be found anywhere are in the Jâtaka tales, dating from some centuries before Christ, and Dr. Rhys Davids has pointed out that many of them have travelled to different parts of Europe, and have assumed various modern shapes.

The fables of the *Panchatantra* were probably current in India for many centuries before they were compiled in their present shape in easy and graceful Sanscrit prose. The work was translated into Persian in the reign of Nausharwan (531–572 A.D.), and it is certain, therefore, that the Sanscrit compilation was made in the sixth century, if not earlier. The Persian translation was rendered into Arabic, and the Arabic translation was rendered into Greek by Symeon Seth about 1080. The Greek version was again rendered into Latin by Possinus. A Hebrew translation of the work was made by Rabbi Joel about 1250. A Spanish translation of the Arabic version was published about 1251. The first German translations were published in the fifteenth century, and since then the work has been rendered into all the languages of Europe, and is known as the fables of Pilpay or Bidpai.* Thus for many centuries the juvenile population of the world was amused with the simple but

* See Tawney's translation of *Kathâ Sarit Sâgara*, vol. ii. p. 43, *note.*

ingenious tales of animals which a Hindu compiled from the current folklore of his countrymen.

When we proceed from the sixth to the seventh century, we find a great change in Sanscrit prose. More ambitious works were composed, in a style which is more ornate and elaborate, but stilted and artificial. Dandin composed his *Dasakumâracharita* probably at the very commencement of the seventh century. The work, as its name signifies, is the story of ten princes who meet with various adventures, most of which are of course supernatural. The style, though sufficiently ornate and artificial, is yet less extravagant than that of Kâdamvarî.

Bânabhatta, the renowned writer of the *Kâdamvarî*, was, as we have seen before, a courtier of Sîlâditya II., and was the author of the Ratnâvalî drama, and of a life of the emperor called Harshacharita. Bânabhatta's father was Chitrabhânu, and his mother was Râjyadevî; and Chitrabhânu died when young Bâna was only fourteen years of age. Bhadranârâyana, Isâna, and Mayûra were among Bâna's early friends.

The story of Kâdamvari is wild and weird, and too long to tell;—the same couple of lovers go through more than one life, and still feel the same irresistible attraction for each other. Scenes of overwhelming passion, intense sorrow, irresistible love, and austere penances in wild solitudes are depicted with power and with a wonderful command of language. There is little of *character* in the various personages. They are all carried away by the vicissitudes of fortune, or by torrents of feeling which have the power of fate. It is this which Hindu writers delight in depicting; of determined efforts of the will in supporting or combating the ordinary ills of life, there are few descriptions in Hindu works of imagination. For the rest, the style of composition, in spite of its wonderful power, is ornate and redundant, laboured and extravagant, beyond all reasonable bounds; and often the same verbose sentence, with strings of adjectives and long

compounds, with a profusion of similes and figures of speech, runs through several pages!

Subandhu also lived in the same reign, and wrote the *Vâsavadattâ*, a shorter tale. Prince Kandarpaketu and Princess Vâsavadattâ fell in love on dreaming of each other; and the prince went to Kusumapura (Pâtaliputra), met the princess, and carried her away on an aërial steed to the Vindhya mountains. There he fell asleep, and when he awoke he found her not. On this Kandarpaketu was about to commit suicide, when a voice from the sky prevented him, and promised him eventual reunion with his beloved bride. After long wanderings, he found a stone figure resembling his long-lost wife; he touched it, and lo! Vâsavadattâ waked to life. A holy saint had turned her into stone—with the merciful provision, however, that she would be restored to life on being touched by her husband.

We have yet one or two other important works of fiction to speak of. The *Brihat Kathâ* is a collection of fables and tales which were long current among the people in Southern India in the Paisâchî dialect. In the twelfth century, Somadeva, a Kashmirian by birth, abridged it and put it into Sanscrit in order to console Queen Sûryavatî of Kashmir, on the death of her grandson Harshadeva; and this abridged compilation is known as the *Kathâ Sarit Sâgara*. In the preface to the work, we are told that the tales were originally told by Kâtyâyana, the critic of Pânini and a minister of Chandragupta, king of the Magadhas; and that they were carried to Southern India by a Pisâcha and repeated in the Paisâchi language to Gunâdhya, who compiled and published them. It is needless to remark that the story connecting the tales with Kâtyâyana is a fiction; the tales are a product of Southern India, and were originally in the Paisâchî dialect.

Somadeva's Sanscrit version, the Kathâ Sarit Sâgara, is divided into eighteen books and 124 chapters, and

contains nearly everything in the way of folklore known in India! We find in it occasional stories from the Mahâbhârata and the Râmâyana, some tales from the Purânas, much of the fables of the Panchatantra, the whole of the twenty-five tales of a demon known as the Betal Pachisi, some of the tales which we believe occur in the Sinhasan Batisi, and many adventures of the great Vikramâditya of Ujjayinî. The tales throw much light on the manners and customs and the domestic life of the people.

With regard to Vikramâditya of Ujjayinî, we are told that he was the son of Mahendrâditya by the queen Saumyadarsanâ, and that he had a second name Vishama Sîla (Sîlâditya ?). We are also told that he was sent to the earth, because the gods complained of the oppression of Mlechchhas in India,—and Vikrama fulfilled his destiny and slew the Mlechchhas.

The only other well-known work of fiction is the *Hitopadesa*, which is merely a compilation of a portion of the older Panchatantra. It is remarkable that all these works of fiction are in Sanscrit, although the Prâkrits were the spoken tongues in India in the Puranic Period.

Vararachi, one of the "nine gems" of Vikramâditya's court, is the oldest grammarian who treats of the Prâkrit dialects. He distinguishes four distinct dialects, viz., the *Mahârâshtrî* or Prâkrit, properly so called; the *Saurasenî*, very similar to the Mahârâshtrî, and like it derived from the Sanscrit; the *Paisâchî*, and the *Mâgadhî*, which last two are said to be derived from the Saurasenî.

These Prâkrit dialects gradually came into use in Northern India from the older Pâli language, which was the sacred language of the Buddhists, and had been the spoken tongue for a thousand years. Indeed, the political and religious causes which ushered in a new form of Hinduism in the place of declining Buddhism had undoubtedly some influence in establishing the newer Prâkrit dialects in the place of the older Pâli.

Political and religious changes have generally been attended in India and elsewhere,—not indeed with sudden changes in the spoken tongue,—but with such changes (slow and gradual in themselves) being authoritatively and suddenly recognised. When the vigorous colonists on the banks of the Ganges and the Jumna left their old mother country, the Punjab, behind in learning and civilisation, the Sanscrit of the Rig Veda was replaced by the Sanscrit of the Brâhmanas. With the rise of Magadha and of Gautama Buddha, Pâli replaced the Sanscrit of the Brâhmanas. With the decline of Buddhism and the rise of Puranic Hinduism under Vikramâditya, the Prâkrits took the place of the Pâli. And lastly, with the fall of ancient races and the rise of the Rajputs in the tenth century was witnessed the rise of the Hindu language which is still spoken in Northern India.

All this is intelligible. But the readers of Kâlidâsa and of Bhavabhûti will naturally inquire, Did those poets write in a dead language? Is it possible to compose a Sakuntalâ, or an Uttara Charita in a dead language? Does the history of other nations furnish us with one single instance of such works of matchless beauty being composed in a dead language?

Those who have compared the Prâkrits with Sanscrit will find no difficulty in answering these questions. Sanscrit was not a dead language in the Puranic Period in the sense in which Latin is now a dead language in Europe. The difference between Sanscrit and the Prâkrits is far less than the difference between the Latin and even the Italian. When the Prâkrits were commonly spoken, Sanscrit was still understood and even spoken in courts. Learned men carried on oral controversies in Sanscrit. All proclamations and state manifestoes were in Sanscrit. Pandits carried on conversation in the court as in the schoolroom in Sanscrit. Poems were recited and plays were rehearsed in Sanscrit. All men of education and

culture understood Sanscrit and often spoke Sanscrit. Probably the common people in towns who spoke the Prâkrits understood ordinary easy Sanscrit. The educated and the learned were certainly perfectly at home with Sanscrit. It was the language which they always read, which they often spoke, and in which they composed and thought, and even conversed. Sanscrit was not therefore a dead language, in the Puranic Period in the sense in which it is a dead language now. And Kâlidâsa and Bhavabhûti did not compose in a dead language, properly so called, when they wrote Sakuntalâ or Uttara Charita.

CHAPTER XV.

CLOSE OF THE ANCIENT AGE.

WE will now close this rapid and imperfect History of Civilisation in Ancient India. It was impossible within our limits to attempt anything like a comprehensive or exhaustive account of this vast subject. We have rather tried to connect together only the leading facts of Indian History, and to present a connected series of outline sketches, illustrating Hindu Civilisation in successive ages. If in these portraits our countrymen have recognised the features of our ancient forefathers, however indistinctly, our labour has not been thrown away. We now crave their attention for a few moments longer to the last pages of our album, illustrating the social manners and civilisation of the last age of Hindu History, anterior to the Mahommedan conquest.

This last age of Hindu History divides itself into two well-marked periods. The manners of the Rajputs of Delhi and Ajmir in the eleventh and twelfth centuries belong to the Modern Age, and were somewhat different from those of the times of Vikramâditya and Sîlâditya, which belong to the Ancient Age. The Rajputs belong to modern history; Vikramâditya and Sîlâditya belong to ancient history. The dark ages which intervened, in the ninth and tenth centuries, divide the ancient period from the modern period in India.

In the present chapter, we will confine our observations therefore to the civilisation of the Hindus at the close of

the Ancient Age, from the sixth to the eighth century. We will attempt to paint the social life of the Hindus of the time of Kâlidâsa and Bhavabhûti; and the immortal works of these and other poets of the period will furnish us with the materials of our picture. In the following chapter we will try to portray the civilisation of the time when the modern age begins, from the tenth to the twelfth century, and we shall obtain our materials from the notes of a thoughtful, learned, and sympathetic foreigner who has left us records of his impressions.

Kâlidâsa himself has, in his character of Dushyanta, given us a picture of the great kings of his time,—of Vikramâditya, for instance. We can conceive to some extent the life that was led by the great Emperor of Northern India in the midst of his luxurious and learned court, his guards and his soldiers. Martial in his demeanour and active in his habits, he delighted in war and in hunting, and often took his soldiers, his chariots, his horses and his elephants in great hunting expeditions in the primeval jungles of India. A fool was as invariably the companion of Hindu kings as of European monarchs in the Middle Ages, and the Indian fool was a Brâhman, whose stupid apprehension, gross tastes, and occasional witty sayings regaled the leisure hours of the king. Soldiers guarded his palace night and day, while in the inner apartments female guards waited on the king, and were under the orders of an aged and faithful chamberlain. To judge from the poet's account, the great conqueror of the Sakas did not dislike the company of Saka women, who guarded his palace and accompanied him in hunting with bows and arrows, and gracefully decked with flowers. Indeed, if we can rely on the tales of the Kathâ Sarit Sâgara, which are valuable because based on the older work Brihat Kathâ, the Emperor of Ujjayinî was not very particular as to the race or caste of the lovely damsels whom he wedded one after another, after his numerous adventures. Madana Sundarî, a

Bhil princess was one of the number, and at her wedding her father declared, "And I, my sovereign, will follow you as your slave with twenty thousand archers." The amorous emperor, we are told in the same work, fell in love with Malayâvatî, princess of Malayapura, on seeing her picture, and with Kalingasenâ, princess of Bengal, on seeing her figure sculptured in stone in a Vihâra; and it is needless to state that both princesses eventually found admission into the great king's extensive seraglio. (K. S. S., Book XVIII.).

The poet of Vikaramorvasî and Mâlavikâgnimitra must have somewhat softened the passionate jealousies and discords which were not unoften witnessed in the royal harem. Royalty always indulged in a plurality of wives, often for political purposes; and besides these stately ladies, many a humble and pretty attendant of the queen won the favour of the king and was punished by her mistress. In spite of all this, the chief queen was always held in high honour and esteem; she was the mistress of the household and the sharer of the king's glory on every state occasion.

Women in humbler life had, like queens, their inner apartments separate from those of the men. The same custom was observed in Europe in the olden days of Rome and Pompei, and Sanscrit poets often describe the peaceful domestic life of the fair inmates of these apartments. But the absolute seclusion of women was unknown even in the Puranic Period. Sakuntalâ and Malayâvatî did not precipitately retreat when strangers like Dushyanta and Jîmûtavâhana appeared before them. Mâlatî in the bloom of her youth rode on an elephant to a temple on a festal day, in the midst of a great concourse of citizens, and there met the youth to whom she gave away her heart, and who reciprocated the feeling. In the first or introductory book of Kâtha Sarit Sâgara we find that Kâtyâyana's mother received two unknown Brâhmans as her guests and freely conversed with them, and Varsha's

wife too had previously received the same strangers, and had narrated to them the story of her husband's misfortunes. In the numerous tales contained in this voluminous work, we nowhere find any instance of women in ordinary life being kept in such absolute and unhealthy seclusion as became the custom in later times under the rule of the Moslems. In Mrichchhakati, Chârudatta's virtuous and modest wife freely converses with Chârudatta's friend Maitreya, and in Kâdamvarî, in Nâgânanda, in Ratnâvalî, and in every other classical work, we find the heroine frequently conversing with the friends of her husband. Ladies of the royal household were of course kept under a greater degree of restriction; but even they were allowed to see the friends of the king. When the ministers of Naravâhana Datta came to see his new queen, Ratnaprabhâ, they were announced before they were admitted to her presence. The queen rebelled even against this necessary formality and said, "The door must not again be closed against the entrance of my husband's friends, for they are as dear to me as my own body" (K. S. S., Chap. 36).

Marriage was arranged by the parents of the bride and the bridegroom. Thus when an offer of marriage was made to Jîmûtavâhana, his companion said, "Go to his parents and ask them," and the parents gave their consent without consulting the young man's inclinations. If, however, we can trust the poets of the period, the ceremony was often performed at a proper age. Mâlatî, the heroine of Bhavabhûti's drama, was still a maiden after she had reached her youth; Mâlavikâ, and Malayâvatî, and Ratnâvalî were unmarried even when they were in the bloom of their beauty, and the pious Rishi Kanva did not think of giving Sakuntalâ in marriage until in youth she met Dushyanta and lost her heart. The ceremony of marriage was the same as it was in ancient days, and as it continues to the present day. The stepping round the fire, the offering of grain as sacrifice, and the utterance of some

promises by the bride and the bridegroom were considered the essential rites.

Girls were taught to read and to write, and there are numerous examples in the classical works of girls writing and reading epistles. In Mrichchhakati, Maitreya says he always laughs when he hears a woman read Sanscrit or a man sing a song; and however much Maitreya may have disliked it, there can be little doubt from the passage itself that women *did* often read Sanscrit, as men did often learn to sing. Music is frequently alluded to as a female accomplishment. In one remarkable passage in Nâgânanda we are told that the princess Malayâvatî sang a song, possessing the treble and bass tones duly developed; and soon after we learn that she played with her fingers, keeping good time in due divisions of slow, medium, and quick, the three pauses rendered in proper order, and the three modes of playing shown in the slow and quick accompaniments.

In the Kathâ Sarit Sâgara (Chap. IX.) we learn that the princess Mrigâvatî attained wonderful skill in dancing, singing, and other accomplishments before she was given in marriage. Numerous such passages are to be found in classical literature.

Painting too is frequently alluded to as an accomplishment possessed both by men and women; and we have already alluded to a passage in Nâgânanda showing that coloured earth was used for painting in ancient India as in ancient Pompei. Uttara Râma Charita opens with an account of some paintings which Lakshmana showed to Sîtâ: and we learn from the Kathâ Sarit Sâgara (Chap. 122) that Nagara Svâmin was the painter-laureate of the court of Vikramâditya, and presented the king with pictures illustrating different types of female beauty.

Connubial love has never been described with deeper feeling than by the poets of India. We have already quoted the passage from Uttara Râma Charita describing the tender love of Râma for Sîtâ; and the reader familiar

with Sanscrit literature will no doubt call to mind hundreds of such passages portraying the regard and love of Hindu husbands and the devotion of Hindu wives.*

Domestic life, however, is not all poetry, and we get a truer idea of domestic sorrows and troubles from the tales in the Kâtha Sarit Sâgara than from the poetry of Bhavabhûti or Kâlidâsa. Poverty, bereavement, the contempt or hatred of relations and neighbours, the cruelty of husbands, or the uncontrolled temper of wives, often poisoned the peace of home and made life a burden. Not the least galling of all evils were the differences and disputes amongst members of joint families, or the heartless cruelty of the mother-in-law and sisters-in-law towards a submissive wife. The gentle and virtuous Kîrti Senâ, suffering from such domestic tyranny, exclaimed in sorrow, "This is why relations lament the birth of a daughter, exposed to the terrors of the mothers-in-law and sisters-in-law" (K. S. S., Chap. 29).

Many passages can be quoted to show that widows were not prohibited from marrying again in the Puranic Age. Yâjnavalkya tells us that "a woman who is married a second time is called a remarried woman" (I, 67). Vishnu tells us that a woman who, being still a virgin, is married for the second time, is called a remarried woman, Punarbhû (XV, 7 and 8). And even Parâsara, although a modern writer allows the remarriage of a woman whose husband is dead, or has lost caste, or is become an ascetic (IV, 26). A droll story is told of the daughter of a householder of Mâlava who married eleven husbands successively; and on the death of the eleventh husband the plucky widow would probably have welcomed a twelfth,

* "The Hindu poets rarely dispraise their women; they almost invariably represent them as amiable and affectionate. In this they might give a lesson to the bards of more lofty nations, and particularly to the Greeks, who, both in tragedy and comedy, pursued the fair sex with implacable rancour. Aristophanes is not a whit behind Euripides, although he ridicules the tragedian for his ungallant propensities."—*Wilson*, *Theatre of the Hindus* (London, 1871), vol. i. p. 77, *note.*

but "even the stones could not help laughing at her," so she took to the life of an ascetic (K. S. S., Chap. 66).

We have spoken before of the love and devotion of Hindu wives. With the decline of the national spirit and of a due respect for women, this female devotion degenerated into a barbarous custom in the Puranic Age. There is no allusion to the rite of *Satî* in the literature of India previous to the Puranic Period; there is no mention of it in the Code of Manu, or even of Yâjnavalkya. It is in Puranic literature that we first trace the rise of this custom.

Suicide by entering the fire was known in India from the time of Alexander the Great, and even earlier. When in the Puranic Age the devotion of wives to their husbands was insisted upon to a greater extent than the regard of husbands for their wives, the form of suicide spoken of above was recommended as a meritorious act more to widows than to others. Thus Varâhamihira praises women in his Astronomy because they enter the fire on losing their husbands, while men go and marry again on losing their wives. Nevertheless, the custom was not restricted to women or to widows, even in the Puranic Age. In Mâlatî Mâdhava, Mâlatî's father makes preparations for mounting the funeral pyre for the grief of his child; and in Nâgânanda, Jîmûtavâhana's father, mother, and wife resolve to perish on the pyre for the loss of the prince.

In Kathâ Sarit Sâgara we find a maiden disappointed in love preparing to enter the funeral pyre (Chaps. 118 and 122). And turning from fiction to history, we know that kings perished on the pyre, because they were disgraced in the eyes of their countrymen for submission to Mahmud of Ghazni. It was, in fact, an ostentatious form of suicide when grief or disgrace became unsupportable, and life was cheerless and void. Reprehensible as such suicide always was, it became a cowardice and a crime when men ceased to perform the

rite, and imposed it as an honourable act on women alone, to be performed on the death of their husbands. Such practice became a settled custom when the Hindus ceased to be a living nation.

Courtesans of great beauty and accomplishments received in ancient India, as in ancient Greece, a higher regard, and lived a more intellectual and elevated life, than their degraded sisters of modern times. Ambapâlî, who vied with Lichchavi lords in pomp and pride, and who invited the holy Gautama Buddha to her house, reminds one of Aspasia receiving Socrates in her house. Similarly, Vasantasenâ, the heroine of the Mrichchhakati, lived in great pomp and splendour; she received the young men of Ujjayinî in a public court furnished with a gaming-table, books, pictures, and other means of recreation; she employed skilled artisans and jewellers in her house; she relieved the needy and the unfortunate; and, in spite of her trade, was

> "Of courteous manners and unrivalled beauty,
> The pride of all Ujjain!"—WILSON.

In the same way we learn from the Kathâ Sarit Sâgara (Chap. 38) that the courtesan Madanamâlâ of Pratishthâna, the capital of Southern India, lived in a mansion "that resembled the palace of a king," and had guards and soldiers, horses and elephants; and she honoured King Vikramâditya (who had come in disguise) with baths, flowers, perfumes, garments, ornaments, and rich viands. And again from Chap. 124 of the same work we learn that Devadattâ, a courtesan of Ujjayinî, lived in her "palace worthy of a king."

Ujjayinî, we need hardly say, was the proudest town in India in the days of which we are speaking. Genius and beauty, wealth and royal power, combined to shed a rare lustre on this ancient city in the sixth century. Good reasons had the Yaksha in the Meghadûta to ask the cloud

not to pass by without a visit to Ujjayinî, or else "dark are thy days, and thou in vain hast been."

Not daring to disobey such high injunction, we paid a visit to the classic town some years ago. Its ancient glory is gone, the very memories of the past dwell not in its precincts. But nevertheless, as we strolled through its rough-paved stony streets, looked at the quaint old houses darkening the lanes, saw the crowd of simple-hearted people in their native joyousness, and visited the ancient temple of Mahâkâla, probably built on the very site of the older temple of that name alluded to by Kâlidâsa in Meghadûta, we felt that it was possible, feebly and faintly, to revive the past in one's imagination, and to form some conception of what this town was in olden days. And certainly the exceptionally realistic account of the town given in the Mrichchhakati helps one's imagination not a little. That play will be our guide in our attempt to delineate the past.

Under the shadow of the royal power dwelt the peaceful merchants and bankers in the Exchange or merchants' quarters, Sreshthi-chatvara as the poet calls it. Quiet and unostentatious as Hindu merchants always were, these banker merchants probably had their branch firms in the great towns all over Northern India, carried on extensive operations in silks, jewels, and valuable goods, and concealed in their dark vaults in crowded and narrow lanes enormous treasures and money, which kings and emperors did not disdain to borrow in times of need. Ostentatious only in their charity and religious works, they beautified the town with many a graceful temple, fed and supported priests and Brâhmans, and earned a name among their fellow-citizens by their good works. To the present day the Setts and merchants of Northern India are respected for their wealth and their pious acts, and build many a holy temple where Jaina and Hindu worship is performed day by day.

Jewellers and artists flocked in the vicinity of merchants. In the words of the poet, "Skilful artists examine pearls,

topazes, sapphires, emeralds, rubies, the lapis lazuli, coral, and other jewels; some set rubies in gold, some work gold ornaments on coloured threads, some string pearls, some grind the lapis lazuli, some pierce shells, and some cut coral. Perfumers dry the saffron bags, shake the musk bags, express the sandal juice, and compound essences." These artists found a market all through the known world, and the products of their skill were appreciated in the court of Harun-ar-Rashid in Bagdad, and astonished the great Charlemagne and his rude barons, who, as an English poet has put it, raised their visors and looked with wonder on the silks and brocades and jewellery which had come from the far East to the infant trading marts of Europe.

Humbler traders filled other streets, and displayed their cloths and garments and sweetmeats and various other commodities. A stream of joyous and simple-hearted people filled the busy streets all through the live long day.

But the markets and bazaars were not the only places of public resort; there were others of a more questionable character. Gambling-houses were established under the king's orders,—as is still the case in the continent of Europe,—the master of the table was appointed by the king to maintain order, and was entitled, according to the Agni Purâna, to one-fifth or one-tenth of the winnings, as the king's dues. The money which a gambler loses at a gambling-table in the Mrichchhakati is reckoned as ten suvarnas; and a suvarna was undoubtedly a golden coin, which Dr. Wilson estimates at Rs. 8-14.

We know from Sakuntalâ that there were grog-shops, which were frequented by the very lowest castes; while among the courtiers of a luxurious court, and among the profligate and the gay, drinking was not unknown. Bhâravi has a canto on the joys of drinking, and Kâlidâsa too often speaks of ladies whose mouths were scented with the perfumes of liquor! But the mass of the middle classes and of the cultivating, trading, and industrial

classes of Hindus abstained from drink, as they do to this day.

Other vices of large towns were not unknown in Ujjayinî. "At this time of evening," says Maitreya in Mrichchhakati, "the royal road is crowded with loose persons, with cut-throats, courtiers, and courtesans;" and elsewhere in the same play we have a rather elaborate account of a theft performed in Chârudatta's house, and the footsteps of the night-watch were heard (as is often the case to the present day) just after the thief had finished his job and retired with the booty! In another place in the same play we are told—

> "The road is solitary, save where the watch
> Performs his wonted round: the silent night,
> Fit season only for dishonest acts,
> Should find us not abroad."—WILSON.

Wealthy citizens rejoiced in a large number of retainers, in spacious courts, and in unquestioning hospitality. We have in Mrichchhakati a somewhat exaggerated account of a wealthy house, from which we can form some conception of wealthy houses generally. The outer door is pretty, the threshold is coloured and well swept and watered, flowers and garlands are hung over the gate, and the doorway is a lofty arch. On entering the first court, is seen a line of white buildings, the walls covered with stucco, the steps made of various stones, and the crystal windows looking down on the streets of the city. In the second court are carriages, oxen, and horses and elephants, fed by their *mahouts* with rice and *ghee!* In the third court is the assembly hall, where the visitors are received; in the fourth there is music with dancing, and in the fifth is the kitchen. In the sixth court live artists and jewellers employed in the house, and in the seventh is an aviary. In the eighth court lives the owner of the house. It is not likely that any but the most wealthy indulged in such profuse magnificence; but the

account gives us some idea of pompous Hindu households. Behind the house is a lovely garden, such as was the delight of Hindu ladies of olden days. Sakuntalâ was fond of watering her plants herself, and the Yaksha's wife used to sit in her garden and think of her absent lord.

Besides such extensive residences inside the town, wealthy men had their garden-houses and villas in the suburbs, "far beyond the city," and a taste for such rural villas continues to the present day.

Among the possessions of wealthy men, slaves were reckoned as a very important item. Domestic slaves were bought and sold in ancient India as in every ancient country, and probably most domestic servants in ancient times were slaves. In Mrichchhakati a ruined gambler proposes to sell himself in order to pay his debt. Still more remarkable is another passage in which the paramour of a female slave asks her what money will procure her manumission from her mistress. The well-known story of Harishchandra goes on to say that the Raja sold his wife and child and himself as slaves to pay off a ruthless Brâhman's debt, and there are numerous other stories to the same effect. Slavery in a mild form continued in India until recent times.

The ordinary conveyance of well-to-do persons in towns was a kind of covered litter drawn by oxen. Both men and women travelled in such litters, and Vasantasenâ went in such a litter to meet her beloved Chârudatta in a garden outside the town. Any one who has travelled in a bullock-cart (as the present writer has) over the rough-paved streets of Ujjayinî must know that the lady's journey, like the course of her true love, was not particularly smooth. Horses were not unoften used as means of conveyance, and in Chapter 124 of the Kathâ Sarit Sâgara we find that a Brâhman Devasvâmin fetched his wife from her father's house, the lady being mounted on a mare, and having a maid with her. Cars drawn by horses were probably only used by kings and lords and

warriors in battle, or in hunting expeditions, as we find in Sakuntalâ.

A solitary and invaluable picture of the practical administration of justice in the ancient Hindu times is given in Mrichchhakati. A Brâhman, Chârudatta, is falsely accused by a profligate villain with the murder of Vasantasenâ, the heroine of the play. The villain, we should mention, calls himself the king's brother-in-law. Kings were not very particular in their amours, and thus it happened that brothers and relations of the women of low caste whom kings took into their palaces were provided with high places in the police. From numerous descriptions of such characters by Kâlidâsa and other poets, we learn that such upstarts made themselves the pests of society, obnoxious to good men, and the terror of the humble and lowly.

Such a cruel upstart, Vâsudeva by name, had done his best to kill Vasantasenâ, whose love he had vainly courted before, and then falsely accused Chârudatta with the crime, because the woman had loved Chârudatta. The judge enters the court with the provost and the scribe (Kâyastha), and Vâsudeva enters his charge against Chârudatta. The judge is unwilling to take up the case on that day, but knowing the influence of the complainant with the king, takes it up, and even puts up with his insolent behaviour in court. Chârudatta is summoned.

The simple and good-hearted Brâhman enters the court, and his description of it will amuse many a modern reader, and will also give us some idea of the imps of the law who were employed in olden days :—

"The prospect is but little pleasing.
The court looks like a sea ; its councillors
Are deep engulphed in thought ; its tossing waves
Are wrangling advocates ; its brood of monsters
Are these wild animals, Death's ministers.
Attorneys skim like wily snakes the surface.
Spies are the shell-fish cowering midst its weeds,
And vile informers, like the hovering curlew,

Hang fluttering o'er, then pounce upon their prey.
The beach that should be justice, is unsafe,
Rough, rude, and broken by oppression's storms." *
—WILSON.

We need not go into the details of the evidence, but appearances certainly go very much against Chârudatta. Nevertheless the judge refuses to believe that good man guilty of the abominable crime, and says to himself, "It were as easy to weigh Himalaya, ford the ocean, or grasp the wind as to fix a stain on Chârudatta's reputation." But the circumstantial evidence becomes stronger, and the judge feels that by law he ought to decide against Chârudatta, but nevertheless does not feel convinced as to the facts. According to his homely but forcible simile, "the points of law are sufficiently clear here, but the understanding still labours like a cow in a quagmire."

In the meantime Chârudatta's friend enters the court, and with him are discovered the ornaments of the woman said to be murdered. This seals Chârudatta's fate. The judge presses him to speak the truth, and even threatens him, and Chârudatta, heart-broken at his own disgrace, overwhelmed by the evidence which is heaped against him, and sick of life on hearing that his beloved Vasantasenâ is no more, confesses, as many an innocent man has confessed, to a murder he has not committed.

The judge orders "the convicted culprit, being a Brâhman, he cannot according to Manu be put to death, but he may be banished the kingdom with his property unattached."

* "That the translator may not be thought to have had an English rather than an Indian court in his eye, he enumerates the terms of the original for the different members of which it is said to consist. *Mantrins*, councillors; *Dûtas*, the envoys or representatives of the parties; the wild animals, Death's ministers, are *Nâgas* and *Asvas*, elephants and horses employed to tread or tear condemned criminals to death; the *Châras* are spies or runners; *Nânâvâsakas*, disguised emissaries or informers; and *Kâyasthas* are scribes by profession who discharge the duties of notaries and attorneys."—*Wilson.*

The king, however, cruelly modifies this sentence into one of death. This cruel order of the king is introduced by the poet as a sin which he expiates soon after. A revolution overturns his rule, he is killed in battle by an usurper, and Chârudatta is saved when on the point of being executed, and gets back his beloved Vasantasenâ, who had been left as dead by the cruel Vâsudeva himself, but who had not died. The infuriated mob wish to kill the base culprit, the relation of the late king, but the magnanimous Chârudatta saves his life from the mob, and says "Set him free." "Why so?" asks the mob, Chârudatta replies with the genuine Hindu maxim—

> "A humbled foe, who prostrate at your feet
> Solicits quarter, must not feel your sword."
>
> —WILSON.

CHAPTER XVI.

COMMENCEMENT OF THE MODERN AGE.

IN the last chapter we have tried to give a brief sketch of Hindu life and civilisation at the close of the Ancient Age from the writings of the great Hindu authors who flourished in the sixth and succeeding centuries. But it is always a gain to see ourselves as others see us, and we propose in the present chapter to draw a similar sketch of Hindu civilisation at the commencement of the Modern Age, from materials supplied to us by a cultured and large-hearted foreigner, Alberuni, who wrote in the eleventh century.

The value of Alberuni's work on India has long been known to scholars, but a scholarlike edition and translation of it had hitherto been wanting. Dr. Edward C. Sachau has now removed the want, and has performed an eminent service to the cause of Oriental research and of Indian history.

Alberuni, or, as his compatriots called him, Abu Raihan, was born in 973 A.D. in the territory of modern Khiva. When Mahmud of Ghazni conquered Khiva in 1017, the eminent scholar was brought to Ghazni as a prisoner of war. It is probably this circumstance which made him look on Hindus with the sympathy due to fellow-sufferers from the conquests and oppression of Mahmud; and while he never hesitates to point out what he considers blemishes in Hindu civilisation and literature, he has at least taken the pains to study that civilisation and literature in a catholic spirit rare among later Mussalman

writers, and he never withholds the meed of praise where praise is due.

Of Mahmud's reckless work of destruction in India, Alberuni speaks with deserved animadversion. "Mahmud," he says, "utterly ruined the prosperity of the country, and performed those wonderful exploits by which the Hindus became like atoms of dust scattered in all directions, and like a tale of old in the mouths of the people. Their scattered remains cherish, of course, the most inveterate aversion towards all Muslims. This is the reason, too, why Hindu sciences have retired far away from those parts of the country conquered by us, and have fled to places which our hand cannot yet reach, to Kashmir, Benares, and other places" (Chap. I.).

With regard to the Hindus, the fact which struck Alberuni most unfavourably was their complete isolation from other nations of the earth, their ignorance of the outside world, their want of sympathy and communication with other peoples whom they call *Mlechchas.* "They are," says Alberuni, "by nature niggardly in communicating that which they know, and they take the greatest possible care to withhold it from men of another caste among their own people, still much more, of course, from any foreigner. According to their belief, there is no other country on earth but theirs, no other race of man but theirs, and no created being besides them have any knowledge of science whatever. Their haughtiness is such that if you tell them of any science or scholar in Khorasan and Persia, they will think you to be both an ignoramus and a liar. *If they travelled and mixed with other nations, they would soon change their mind, for their ancestors were not as narrow-minded as the present generation is*" (Chap. I.).

In political matters, too, India was in the last days of her decline when Alberuni wrote. The vast country which had owned the sway or the supremacy of the

great Vikramâditya in the sixth century, was now parcelled out among petty kings and chiefs, all independent of each other, and often warring with each other. Kashmir was independent and was guarded by its mountains; Mahmud of Ghazni had tried to conquer it, but failed; and the brave Anangapâla, who had vainly tried to oppose the march of Mahmud, had at one time fled to that secluded region. Sindh was cut up into petty principalities ruled by Moslem chiefs. In Gujrat, Mahmud's invasion of Somnath or Pattan had left no lasting result; the Rajput dynasty, which had wrested the ruling power in the land from the Chalukyas before the time of Mahmud, continued to rule there after Mahmud's invasion of Somnath. Malwa was ruled by another Rajput race, and Bhojadeva, who ruled for half a century, from 997 to 1053, was an enlightened patron of letters, and revived in his capital at Dhâra the memories of the reign of Vikramâditya the Great.

Kanouj is said to have then been subject to the Pâla kings of Bengal, who generally resided at Monghyr. Rajyapâla of Kanouj had been plundered by Mahmud in 1017, and in consequence of this a new capital had been founded at Bâri, where Mahîpâla lived and ruled about 1026. Both these rulers, like all the Pâlas of Bengal, are said to have been of the Buddhist persuasion; but Buddhism as a national religion had almost died out in India in Alberuni's time.

The country round Kanouj was called the *Madhyadesa* by the people, because it formed the centre of India, a centre, as Alberuni states, "from a geographical point of view," and "it is a political centre too, because in former times it was the residence of their most famous heroes and kings" (Chap. XVIII.).

Alberuni gives distances from Kanouj to several important places which continue to be important towns to the present day. He speaks of Mathurâ, which "has become famous by Vâsudeva;" of Prayâga or Allahabad

"where the Hindus torment themselves with various kinds of torture which are described in the books about religious sects;" of "the famous Banarasi" or Benares; of Pâtaliputra, Monghyr and Gangâsâgara or the mouths of the Ganges. In the south he speaks of Dhâra and Ujjayinî; in the north-west of Kashmir and Multan and Lahor; and away from the centre of India he speaks of the fabled causeway of Râma, and of the pearl banks of Ceylon, as also of the Maldive and Laccadive islands (Chap. XVIII).

From an account of the country we turn to an account of the people. Alberuni makes some brief remarks on the caste-system, from which we are able to see that the Vaisyas—the great body of the Aryan people—were fast degenerating to the rank of Sûdras. In one place we are told that between the Vaisyas and the Sûdras "there is no very great distance" (Chap. IX). Elsewhere we learn that the Vaisyas had already been deprived of their ancient heritage of religious learning; that the Brâhmans taught the Veda to the Kshatriyas; but "the Vaisya and Sûdra are not allowed to hear it, much less to pronounce or recite it" (Chap. XII). Again, we are told that "every action which is considered as the privilege of the Brâhman, such as saying prayers, the recitation of the Veda, and offering sacrifices to the fire is forbidden to him, to such a degree that when—*e.g.*, a Sûdra or a Vaisya is proved to have recited the Veda,—he is accused by the Brâhmans before the ruler, and the latter will order his tongue to be cut off (Chap. LXIV).

Let the reader compare this account of the Vaisya's status with that given by Manu, and he will have before him the history of the gradual degeneracy of the *nation*, and of the growing power of *priests*. The descendants of the Vaisyas, who had an equal right with Brâhmans to learn and recite the Veda and to sacrifice to the fire, came, after the religious and political revolutions of the

ninth and tenth centuries, to be classed with Sûdras, and considered unworthy of religious knowledge! Kshatriyas still held their own as long as India was a free country, but lost their glory and independence after the twelfth century. And then the bold myth was proclaimed that the Kshatriyas too as a caste had, like the Vaisyas, ceased to exist, that all who were not Brâhmans were Sûdras—all equally incapable of reciting the Veda and sacrificing to the fire! Does the modern reader wish to go beyond this specious myth of the extinction of the Kshatriyas and Vaisyas, and desire to know what has really become of them and their descendants? He will find them classed under new names (Kâyastha, Vaidya, Vanik, Svarnakâra, Karmakâra, &c.), as new castes unknown to Manu and Yâjnavalkya. And room has been kindly provided for these new castes, *formed out of Kshatriyas and Vaisyas*, in the growing list of "mixed castes" which Manu had *reserved for aborigines like Nishâdas and Chandâlas!* But modern education is gradually opening the eyes of the people, and the great Hindu nation is learning to demand its ancient religious and social privileges as it is rising to a consciousness of its national and political life.

Below the Sûdra, eight *Antyaja* castes are recounted by Alberuni, viz., the fuller, the shoemaker, the juggler, the basket and shield maker, the sailor, the fisherman, the hunter of wild animals, and the weaver. The Hâri, Doma, and Chandâla were considered as outside all castes (Chap. IX).

It is a relief to turn from the subject of caste to that of the manners and customs of the people; but even here we find Hinduism in its last stage of degeneracy. We are told that "Hindus marry at a very young age," and that "if a wife loses her husband by death, she cannot marry another man. She has only to choose between two things—either to remain a widow as long as she lives, or to burn herself; and the latter eventually is considered

the preferable, because as a widow she is ill-treated as long as she lives" (Chap. LXIX). We have seen that early marriage was not the usual custom in the Puranic Age, and it is clear therefore that it became the general custom among Hindus at the commencement of the Modern Age. The same remark applies to the rite of *Satî*.

About marriage customs we are told that parents arranged marriages for their children, that no gifts were settled, but the husband made a gift in advance which was the wife's property (*strîdhana*) ever after. Marriage was forbidden among parties who were related to each other within five generations. Every man of a particular caste could, under the ancient law, marry a woman of his own caste, or one of the castes below his. But this practice had fallen into disuse; caste had become more rigid, and "in our time, however, the Brâhmans, although it is allowed to them, never marry any woman except one of their own caste" (Chap. LXIX).

The account of the festivals, given by Alberuni, of the Hindus of the eleventh century reads not unlike an account of Hindu festivals in the present day. The year commenced with the month of Chaitra, and on the eleventh day of the moon was the *Hindoli Chaitra* (the modern *Dola*), when the image of Krishna was swung to and fro in a cradle. On the full-moon day was the spring festival (the modern *Holi*), a festival specially for women. We have found some account of this festival in the dramatic literature of the early Puranic Age. Both the *Ratnâvali* and the *Mâlatîmâdhava* open with an account of this festival, which was sacred to the god of Love. But Krishna, in modern times, has supplanted the ancient god of Love, and the modern *Holi* represents the festival of that ancient god.

The third day of the moon in Vaisâkha was the *Gaurî Tritîyâ*, when women performed ablutions, worshipped the image of Gaurî, and lighted lamps before it, offered perfumes, and fasted. From the tenth day of the moon

to the full moon, sacrifices were performed before ploughing fields, and commencing the annual cultivation. Then came the vernal equinox, when a festival was held and Brâhmans were fed.

Jaistha is the month for fruits in India, and on the first day of the moon the first-fruits of the year were thrown into the water for obtaining a favourable prognostic. On the full-moon day there was a festival for women, called *Rûpa Pancha.*

The month of Âsâdha was devoted to alms-giving, and households were provided with new vessels.

On the full-moon day in Srâvana banquets were again given to Brâhmans.

In the month of Âsvayuja sugar cane was cut, and at a festival called the Mahânavamî, the first-fruits of sugar and other things were presented to the image of Bhagavatî. On the fifteenth, sixteenth, and twenty-third day of the moon there were other festivals, accompanied by much merriment and wrangling.

The month of Bhâdrapadâ was full of celebrations. On the first day of the moon alms were given in the manes of the fathers. On the third day there was a festival for women. On the sixth day food was distributed to prisoners. On the eighth day there was a festival called *Dhruvagriha*, and pregnant women celebrated it to obtain healthy children. On the eleventh day there was a festival called *Pârvatî*, in which a thread was offered to the priest. And after the full-moon day the whole half-month was devoted to festivals. These festivals of the eleventh century have now been replaced by more pompous Pûjas, —those of Durgâ and other goddesses and gods.

On the first day of the moon in Kârtika was a festival called Dewâli. A great number of lamps were lighted, and it was believed that the goddess Lakshmî liberated Bali, the son of Virochana, in that one day in the year. This was the ancient form of the Dewâli festival, with which the worship of Kâlî is now connected, just as the

worship of Krishna is now connected with the ancient festival to the god of Love.

On the third day of the moon in Mârgasîrsha (Agrahâyana) there was a feast for women in honour of Gaurî. And there was another feast for women on the full-moon day.

Pausha was celebrated in those days, as it is now, with a variety of sweet dishes. We have seen that this very sensible way of celebrating the winter was known even in the centuries previous to the Christian Era.

On the third day of the moon in Mâgha, there was a feast for women in honour of Gaurî. Other festivals followed in this month.

On the eighth day of the moon in Fâlguna, Brâhmans were fed, and on the full-moon day was the *Dola.* The following night was the *Sivarâtrî* dedicated to Mahâdeva (Chap. LXXVI).

The account of festivals given above will convey some idea of popular religion and religious practices. There were idols and temples, too, scattered broadcast all over India, which attracted numerous pilgrims and devotees. Alberuni speaks of an idol of Âditya or the sun in Multan, of one of Chakrasvâmin or Vishnu in Thanesvara, of a wooden idol called Sârada in Kashmir, and of the famous idol of Somnath—a Sivalinga—which was destroyed by Mahmud of Ghazni (Chap. XI). About the linga of Somnath, our author tells us that Mahmud, after destroying the upper part, transported the remainder to Ghazni, with all its coverings and trappings of gold, jewels, and embroidered garments. Part of it was thrown into the hippodrome of the town, and part of it was kept at the door of the Ghazni mosque, so that people might rub and clean their feet on it. Such was the fate assigned to the idol which was daily washed by water brought from the Ganges and worshipped by flowers from Kashmir! The great importance of the Somnath linga was due to the fact that the town itself was a centre of mari-

time trade and a harbour for seafaring people (Chap. LVIII).

Benares had already become the most sacred place in India, and men repaired there in their old age to end their lives in the holy city. The holy lakes of Pushkara, Thanesvara, Mathurâ, Kashmir, and Multan are also alluded to, and no doubt attracted vast crowds of pilgrims (Chap. LXVI). The Hindu custom of excavating great tanks with spacious flights of stairs in holy places is much praised by our author. "In every place to which some particular holiness is ascribed the Hindus construct ponds intended for ablutions. In this they have attained to a very high degree of art, so that our people (the Muslims), when they see them, wonder at them, and are unable to describe them, much less to construct anything like them. They build them of great stones of an enormous bulk, joined to each other by sharp and strong cramp irons, in the form of steps (or terraces) like so many ledges; and these terraces run all round the pond, reaching to a height of more than a man's stature" (Chap. LXVI).

Among the multitude of gods and goddesses whom the Hindus worshipped, Alberuni had no difficulty in marking out the three principal gods—the deities of the Hindu Trinity—Brahmâ the Creator, Vishnu the Preserver, and Mahâdeva the Destroyer. Alberuni further tells us that these three deities form a Unity, and herein "there is an analogy between Hindus and Christians, as the latter distinguish between the three *persons*, and give them separate names, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, but unite them into one *substance*" (Chap. VIII).

That Alberuni carefully studied Hindu religion and institutions, will appear from the fact that beyond the multitude of Hindu gods worshipped by the common people—beyond even the Trinity spoken of above—our author grasped the true nature of pure and philosophical Hinduism—the Monotheism of the Upanishads.

He repeatedly tells us that the multitude of gods is for vulgar belief; the educated Hindus believe God to be "one, eternal, without beginning and end, acting by free will, almighty, all-wise, living, giving life, ruling, preserving."

"The existence of God they consider as real existence, because everything that exists, exists through him" (Chap. II).

This is pure, refreshing, life-giving religion; it has the true ring of the ancient Upanishads, which are among the noblest works that have been composed by man. The historian only regrets that this noble faith became the exclusive property of the educated few, that the common people were referred to idols and temples, to unmeaning rites and unhealthy restrictions. Why should the people be fed on poison in a land where the nectar stream of an ancient and life-giving religion flowed perennial?

Elsewhere Alberuni speaks of the Hindu idea of transmigration of souls, of every act in life bringing its reward or punishment in the life to come, and of final emancipation derived by true knowledge. *Then* "the soul turns away from matter, the connecting links are broken, the union is dissolved. Separation and dissolution take place, and the soul returns to its home, carrying with itself as much of the bliss of knowledge as sesame develops grains and blossoms, afterwards never separating from its oil. The intelligent being, intelligence, and its object are united and become one" (Chap. V).

Of the administration of law some interesting account is given. Written plaints were generally filed, in which the case against the defender was stated. Where no such written plaint was filed, oral complaints were received. There were different kinds of oaths, having different degrees of solemnity, and cases were decided on the testimony of witnesses (Chap. LXX).

All foreign visitors have commented on the extreme mildness of the criminal law in India, and Alberuni compares it with the leniency professed by Christians, and adds some shrewd remarks which deserve to be quoted. "In this regard the manners and customs of the Hindus resemble those of the Christians, for they are, like those of the latter, based on the principles of virtue and abstinence from wickedness, such as never to kill under any circumstances whatsoever; to give to him who has stripped you of your coat also your shirt; to offer to him who has beaten your cheek the other cheek also; to bless your enemy and to pray for him. Upon my life, this is a noble philosophy; but the people of this world are not all philosophers. Most of them are ignorant and erring, who cannot be kept on the straight road save by the sword and whip. And indeed, ever since Constantine the victorious became a Christian, both sword and whip have ever been employed, for without them it would be impossible to rule" (Chap. LXXI).

The punishment for a Brâhman murderer who killed a man of another caste was expiation, consisting of fasting, prayers, and almsgiving. But if a Brâhman killed another Brâhman, the punishment was banishment and confiscation of property. In no case was a Brâhman offender punished with death. For theft the punishment was in accordance with the value of the stolen property. In serious cases a Brâhman or Kshatriya thief might be punished with loss of hand or foot, and a thief of a lower caste might be punished with death. A woman who committed adultery was driven out of the house of her husband and banished (Chap. LXXI).

Children inherited the property left by the father, a daughter getting a fourth part of the share of a son. A widow did not inherit, but was entitled to support and maintenance as long as she lived. Heirs in the direct line, *i.e.*, sons, grandsons, &c., inherited in pre-

ference to collateral heirs as brothers; and the debt of the deceased devolved on the heir (Chap. LXXII).

In matters of taxation Brâhmans enjoyed the same indulgence as in punishment for offences. One-sixth of the produce of the soil was the tax due to the ruler; and labourers, artisans, and trading classes also paid taxes, calculated on their incomes. Only Brâhmans were exempt from all taxes (Chap. LXVII).

With regard to Hindu literature, Alberuni begins his account with the Veda, which he says was transmitted by memory, because it was recited according to certain modulations, and the use of the pen might cause some error. He repeats the story that Vyâsa divided the Veda into four parts, the Rik, Yajus, Sâman, and Atharvan, and taught one part to each of his four pupils—Paila, Vaisampâyana, Jaimini, and Sumantu. He gives us the names of the eighteen books into which the Mahâbhârata in its present shape is divided, and also makes mention of its continuation the Harivansa; and he also tells some legends from the Râmâyana. He names eight grammarians—Pânini and others—and gives us some account of Sanscrit metre; and he also tells us something of the Sânkhya and other schools of philosophy, although his information is not always derived from the original works of these schools. Of Buddha and Buddhism his account is meagre, vague, and erroneous. He tells us of the twenty works on Smriti, Manu, Yâjnavalkya, and others. He gives us two different lists of the eighteen Purânas, and the second list corresponds exactly with the eighteen Purânas as we have them now. This is an important fact for the student of Hindu literature, as it shows that all the eighteen Purânas were composed before the eleventh century of the Christian Era, although they have been altered and added to in subsequent ages. On the other hand, we have no mention in Alberuni's work of the Tantra literature. And lastly, Alberuni, being himself a clever mathematician, gives us a long account of Hindu

astronomers, Âryabhatta, Varâhamihira, and Brahmagupta, and of the five astronomical Siddhântas (Sûrya, Vasishtha, Pulisa, Romaka, and Brahmâ), which were condensed by Varâhamihira. Alberuni specially praises Varâhamihira as an honest man of science, and states that the astronomer lived 526 years before his own time, *i.e.*, about 505 A.D.

It is not necessary for us to go into the long and learned account which Alberuni gives of Hindu astronomy. His criticisms are sometimes erroneous; but on the whole he tries honestly to comprehend and explain the systems of which he speaks. He gives us the names of the twelve Âdityas, *i.e.*, the names of the sun in the twelve months of the year, viz., Vishnu of Chaitra, Aryaman of Vaisâkha, Vivasvat of Jyaistha, Ansa of Asâdha, Parjanya of Srâvana, Varuna of Bhâdra, Indra of Asvayuja (Âsvina), Dhâtri of Kârtika, Mitra of Mârgasîrsha (Agrahâyana), Pûshan of Pausha, Bhaga of Mâgha, and Tvashtri of Fâlguna. He states correctly that the names of the Hindu months are derived from the Hindu names of lunar constellations: Âsvina from Asvini, Kârtika from Krittikâ, Mârgasîrsa from Mrigasîrâ, Pausha from Pushyâ, Mâgha from Maghâ, Fâlguna from Pûrva Fâlgunî, Chaitra from Chitrâ, Vaisâkha from Visakhâ, Jyaîshtha from Jyeshthâ, Âshâdha from Purvâshâdhâ, Srâvana from Sravana, and Bhâdra from Pûrva Bhadrapadâ. He gives us the names of the twelve signs of the zodiac, adopted by the Hindus from the Greeks, who had adopted them from the Assyrians. And he also gives us the Hindu names of the planets, Mangala for Mars, Budha for Mercury, Vrihaspati for Jupiter, Sukra for Venus, and Sanichara for Saturn (Chap. XIX).

Alberuni further tells us, and it is a remarkable fact for Hindu students to know, that some idea of the law of gravitation was known to Hindu astronomers. Brahmagupta, as quoted by Alberuni, says, "All heavy things fall down to the earth by a law of nature, for *it is the*

nature of the earth to attract and to keep things, as it is the nature of water to flow, that of the fire to burn, and that of the wind to set in motion." Varâhamihira also says: "*The Earth attracts that which is upon her.*" (Chap. XXVI). Alberuni also alludes to Âryabhatta's theory, of which we have spoken before, that the earth revolves on its axis, the heaven does not turn round as appears to our eyes (Chap. XXVI). That the earth is round was also known to Hindu astronomers, and the circumference of the earth was stated to be 4800 yojanas (Chap. XXXI).

Alberuni also tells us of the precession of the equinoxes, and quotes Varâhamihira, that whereas the summer solstice took place in the midst of Asleshâ and the winter solstice in Dhanishtâ in olden times (in the Epic Age, when the Vedas were finally compiled, as we have seen before), the former now (in Varâhamihira's time) takes place in the Cancer, and the latter in Capricornus (Chap. LVI). Alberuni further goes into the subject of the heliacal rising of the stars, and tells us how the mythical story of Agastya (Canopus) ordering the Vindhya mountains to wait until his return, arose out of astronomical observations on the heliacal rising of the Canopus. Into these and various other interesting matters of which our author speaks we cannot enter.

The geography of India was pretty well known to the Hindus both before and after the Christian Era: witness the Buddhist Scriptures and the accounts in Kâlidâsa's poetry and Varâhamihira's astronomy. But nevertheless in orthodox Hindu works, we often find the mythical account of the configuration of the earth, with its seven concentric seas and seven concentric islands! The central island is Jambu Dvîpa, surrounded by the salt sea; round it is Sâka Dvîpa, surrounded by the milk sea; round it is Kusa Dvîpa, surrounded by the butter sea; round it is Krauncha Dvîpa, surrounded by the curd sea; round it is Sâlmali Dvîpa, surrounded by the wine sea; round it is

Gomeda Dvîpa, surrounded by the sugar sea; and last of all is Pushkara Dvîpa, surrounded by the sweet sea (Chap. XXI, quoting from the Matsya Purâna). A more rational account of the provinces of India is quoted by Alberuni from the Vâyu Purâna. The Kurus, Panchâlas, Kasis, Kosalas, &c., were the central people. The Andhras (in Magadha), Vangîyas, Tâmraliptikas, &c., were in the east. The Pândyas, Keralas, Cholas, Mahârâshtras, Kalingas, Vaidharvas, Andhras (in the Deccan), Nâsikyas, Saurâshtras, &c., were to the south. The Bhojas, Mâlavas, Hunas (Huns then possessing a part of the Punjab), &c., were to the west. And the Pahlavas (Persians), Gandhâras, Yavanas, Sindhus, Sakas, &c., were to the north (Chap. XXIX).

Alberuni gives us some account of Hindu arithmetic and numbers—a science in which the Hindus beat all nations on the face of the earth. "I have studied the names of the orders of the numbers in various languages," says Alberuni, "and have found that no nation goes beyond the thousand," *i.e.*, the fourth order of numbers, commencing from the unit. But the Hindus "extend the names of the orders of numbers until the eighteenth order, and this is called the Parârdha (Chap. XVI).

Our author also speaks of the various kinds of alphabet in use in India, the *Siddhamâtrikâ* used in Kashmir and in Benares, the *Nâgara* used in Malwa, the *Ardhanâgarî*, the *Marwari*, the *Sindhava*, the *Karnâta*, the *Andhrî*, the *Drâvirî*, the *Gaurî*, &c. The last named is no doubt the Bengali alphabet. Various materials, too, were used in various parts of India for writing—the *Tal* leaf in some places, the *Bhûrja* in Northern and Central India, &c. (Chap. XVI).

A chapter is also devoted to Hindu medical science. The science seems to have always been the monopoly of a few, and much superstition was mixed up with it. Ignorant pretenders professed through *Rasâyana* to turn old age into youth, and to work many other wonders,

and thus preyed on the more ignorant public. As in the Middle Ages in Europe, so in India, the greediness of kings to convert metals into gold knew no bounds, and pretenders prescribed many dark and even inhuman rites to work this wonder.

Indeed, in many respects the tenth and eleventh centuries in India resembled the Middle Ages in Europe. A noble religion had become the monopoly of priests, and had been all but smothered with childish legends and image worship. War and sovereignty were the monopoly of another caste, the Rajput Kshatriyas of India, and the feudal barons of Europe, who had both come to the forefront from the struggles of the preceding Dark Ages. The people were ignorant, dispirited, enslaved, in one country as in the other. The last of the poets of the Augustan and Vikramâdityan ages had disappeared, and had left no successors. The great names in science and learning were also a memory of the past; none had appeared again to take their place. And, as if to make the parallel complete, the last remains of the Latin and Prâkrit-Sanscrit spoken tongues were replaced by modern languages,—the Italian, French, and Spanish in Europe, and the Hindi, &c., in India. The people were kept in ignorance, fed with unwholesome superstition, beguiled with gorgeous and never-ending festivals. Everything bore the appearance of disintegration and decay; and national life seemed extinct.

But here the parallel ends. The sturdy feudal barons of Europe soon mixed with the people, fought the people's battle in the field, the council board or the counting-house, and thus infused a new and vigorous life in modern nations. In India the caste-system prevented such a fusion, and the Rajput Kashatriyas, isolated from the people, soon fell a prey to foreign invaders, and were involved in a common ruin.

Great is the penalty which the Hindus have paid for their caste disunion and their political weakness. For

six centuries after 1200 A.D., the history of the Hindus is a blank. They were the only Aryan nation in the earth who were civilised four thousand years ago; they are the only Aryan nation in the earth who are socially lifeless and politically prostrate in the present day.

After six centuries of national lifelessness, there are indications of reviving life. There is a struggle in the land to go beyond the dead forms of religion, and to recover what is pure, nourishing, life-giving. There is an effort to create a social union which is the basis of national union. There are beginnings of a national consciousness among the people.

It may be England's high privilege to restore to an ancient nation a new and healthy life. Under the vivifying influences of modern civilisation, ancient races in Greece and in Italy have begun a new intellectual and national career. Under the fostering protection of the British crown, new nations are progressing in self-government and civilisation in America and in Australia. The influence of civilisation and the light of progress will yet spread to the shores of the Ganges. And if the science and learning, the sympathy and example of modern Europe help us to regain in some measure a national consciousness and life, Europe will have rendered back to modern India that kindly help and sisterly service which India rendered to Europe in ancient days —in religion, science, and civilisation.

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